

SWIFT'S V

VOL.

MDCC LX

IFT'S WORKS.

V O L. XVIII.

M DCC LXVII.

T H E

W O R

O F

Dr. Jonatha

Dean of St. PATRIC

VOLUME

Let IRELAND tell, how Wit
Her trade supported, and suppli
And leave on SWIFT this grat
"The rights a Court attack'd,
Behold the hand that wrought
Stretch'd to relieve the Idiot an
Prove Vice to brand, or injur
And stretch the ray to ages ye

L O N D

Printed for W. BOWYER
C. BATHURST, W. ST
RIVINGTON, L. DAVI
W. OWEN, T. LONGM
and T. CADELL. MI

T H E

O R K S

O F

Jonathan Swift,

of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME XVIII.

AND tell, how Wit upheld her cause,
supported, and supplied her laws;
on SWIFT this grateful verse engrav'd,
'ts a Court attack'd, a Poet sav'd!"
hand that wrought a Nation's cure,
relieve the Idiot and the Poor;
to brand, or injur'd Worth adorn,
the ray to ages yet unborn.

POPE.

L O N D O N,

W. BOWYER and J. NICHOLS,
HURST, W. STRAHAN, J. and F.
TON, L. DAVIS, W. JOHNSTON,
EN, T. LONGMAN, J. DODSLEY,
CADELL. MDCCCLXXV.

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REGIA
MONACENSIS.

VOLUME XVII.

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1827.

THE FIRST PART OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

BY
WILLIAM
SWIFT AND HIS
PUPILS
IN THREE VOLUMES
LONDON
Printed by J. Sturges, in Pall-mall
1741

THE SECOND PART OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
BY
WILLIAM
SWIFT AND HIS
PUPILS
IN THREE VOLUMES
LONDON
Printed by J. Sturges, in Pall-mall
1741

THE THIRD PART OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
BY
WILLIAM
SWIFT AND HIS
PUPILS
IN THREE VOLUMES
LONDON
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OF

V O L.

HISTORY of the four

Anne,

Preface to the third part

Temple's Miscellanea,

Preface to the third part of

Dedication to Sir William

Preface to the first part of

Preface to the second part,

The history of Martin,

A digression on the

and necessity, of swa

The history resumed,

The tale of a tub con

The conclusion,

Heads of a discours

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A project, for the

mankind,

Some thoughts on Free

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A sketch of the character

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T H E

ADVERTIS

THE several pieces
 sent to the publick are
 not to need any formal
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 are admirable; some
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 who the Dean has said
 to see the first of
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 noble parts of the wh-
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 ume, whatever fate their re-
 vention entitle them. A very
 edition, however, he
 without a few remarks
 the Four last Years of
 accountably decried, t
 doubted merit. It has
 the spurious, though al-
 contains is a sufficient
 vicinity. It is repeated
 author, in various par-
 has called it "his
 Vol. XVIII,



ADVERTISEMENT.

Several pieces of Dr. SWIFT now
in the publick are of too miscellaneous
nature to need any formal apology. Many of
them are admirable; some of them indifferent;
perhaps, rather below mediocrity.
There are few Readers who would not
be as the Dean has said of Sir *William Tem-
ple* the first draught of any thing
"from the Author's hand." If the irregularity
of the whole be objected, let it be re-
minded that the present publication is not
a single volume, consisting of
one which, if not entirely new to the
publick, has never before been printed *in this*
country. The present Editor hopes to escape
the censure of reviving "libels born to
die." He expresses a wish that the less
important parts of the whole collection were
in a separate volume, and consigned
to their respective degrees of
oblivion. A very material part of this
collection, however, he cannot possibly pass
without a few remarks. The "History of
the last Years of the Queen" has been
universally decried, though a work of
merit. It has even been supposed
spurious, though almost every paragraph
is a sufficient voucher for its au-

thenticity. It is repeatedly mentioned by our
author in various parts of his writings.
He has called it "his GRAND business;"
XVIII, B and

ADVERTISEMENT.

and thought it "THE BEST WORK HE HAD EVER WRITTEN." As far as it extends, is indeed a masterly performance; and will be deemed a valuable acquisition to future historians. Deriving his intelligence, at that remarkable æra, from the fountain-head, *Swift* could not be mistaken in the facts which he relates. He had ready access to every requisite source of information: and his manly fortitude must have placed him far above the necessity of wilful misrepresentation. Professedly an advocate for the Tories, to the Whigs he was an avowed, a formidable opponent. In his Journal to *Stella* (the more valuable for discovering his unreserved sentiments) he frequently laments the necessity of displacing the duke of *Marlborough*; and declares, though he loved not the man, he had prevented many hard things being said against him. The favours he obtained from the ministry for the men of wit among the adverse party are too notorious to be enlarged on.

His earnestness to communicate this History to the publick is evident in many of his letters. In 1736, it was actually intended for the press; and in *April*, 1738, the Dean expressed his satisfaction at the publication being long delayed. Whatever motives might have then existed for such delay, whether tenderness to living characters, or more prudential reasons, a period of forty years must totally have removed them. The rage of party is subsided; and we may be allowed to contemplate the reign of *Anne* as impartially as that of *Elizabeth*.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LAST YEARS
OF
THE QUEEN.

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P R E F A

An ingenious Writer * hath observed, that the CHARACTERS in this History "have all the signs of being written, as *Tacitus* calls it, *recentibus odiis*. In all other respects, (he adds) the piece seems to be a work not unworthy of its Author; a clear and strong, though not an elevated style; an entire freedom from every sort of affected ornament; a peculiar happiness of putting those he would satirize in the most odious and contemptible light, without seeming directly to intend it. These are the characteristics of all *Swift's* works; and they appear as strongly in this as in any of them. If there be any thing different in this performance from the manner of his works published in his life-time, it is, that the style is in this thrown something more backwards, and has a more antique cast. This probably he did designedly, as he might think it gave a greater dignity to the work. He had a strong prejudice in favour of the language, as it was in queen *Elizabeth's* reign; and he rated the style of the authors of that time a little above its real value. Their style was indeed sufficiently bold and nervous, but deficient in grace and elegance."

* The compiler of *The Annual Register*.



HAVING written the
at Windsor, in the ha
queen Anne, of ever
immortal memory; I re
for the satisfaction of my
the year 1713; but, be
of going to Ireland, t
the Deanry of St. Patrick
original with the minist
in that kingdom not
found, at my return, that
and the Secretary my
were then unhappily u
each other, could not
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about a year after.
I have ever since preserve
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This Preface is so immed
following History, that th
place needs no apology.
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after the queen's death.

P R E F A C E.

HAVING written the following History of *Windsor*, in the happy reign of her late queen *Anne*, of ever-glorious, blessed, and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; but, being under a necessity of going to *Ireland*, to take possession of the deanery of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, I left it in the hands of the ministers; and having spent but a fortnight in that kingdom, at my return, that my lord treasurer and the secretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it in my closet till her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very carefully, too well knowing what a turn the world might take upon the *German* family's

This Preface is so immediately connected with the History, that the re-printing of it in this edition needs no apology. The time when it was first published does not appear; but it was probably many years before the queen's death. N.

P R E F A C E.

ucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by *Mr. Harley*, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act, immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the accession, and resolved to act in every part by

c "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry." See vol. XV. p. 4. N.

a direct

P R E F A C E

contrary system of policy, and with as much malice and the most stupid ignorance their underlings could. Therefore, as I pretend to impartiality the following years of her majesty's reign, to undeceive prejudiced as well as posterity; I have given my own mind, as likewise by the oldest and wisest friends, my duty to God and man, to the future ages right in the happy reign; and, as a father, cannot suffer falsehoods, not only against all as well as probability, but the happy events which owe every measure then fixed in. The materials for this History have already mentioned, I have reposed in me for the chief persons in power, many hundred letters written abroad, and from instructions sent them by sea, or by the first ministers. The former were all sent copies entered into the office, out of both which I thought convenient to insert several memorials given at home. Further, I was a

that contrary system of politicks, should
be ascribed to their predecessors with as much infamy as
it is to be ascribed to them by inveterate malice and envy could sug-
gest to the most stupid ignorance and cre-
dulousness of their underlings could swallow.
Therefore, as I pretend to write with the
utmost impartiality the following History of
the last years of her majesty's reign, in
order to undeceive prejudiced persons at pre-
sent as well as posterity; I am persuaded in
my own mind, as likewise by the advice of
the most just and wisest friends, that I am doing
service to God and man, by endeavouring
to set the future ages right in their judgement of
this happy reign; and, as a faithful historian,
not suffer falsehoods to run on any
point, not only against all appearance of
probability, but even against
happy events which owe their success to
measures then fixed in the general peace.
The materials for this History, besides what
is already mentioned, I mean the confi-
dence reposed in me for those four years by
the best persons in power, were extracted out
of many hundred letters written by our am-
bassadors abroad, and from the answers as well
as instructions sent them by our secretaries of
state or by the first minister the earl of Ox-
ford. The former were all originals, and the
copies entered into books in the secre-
tary's office, out of both which I collected all
that I thought convenient; not to mention
the memorials given me by the ministers
&c. Further, I was a constant witness and
observer

P R E F A C E.

observer of all that passed ; and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise ^d, which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books ; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary ; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer ; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this, to shew that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I reserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addison* and Mr. *Steele*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both ; and, by his lordship's commands, I thought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with irritabilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion,

^d Public Spirit of the Whigs.

morality,

P R E F A C

min, justice, and common decency, though perhaps I may not be the best age ; yet I hope to be so by all who will bear any part in the liberty of England. I shall then subsist or not. I have no interest or inclination to make, or omissions, or vices, or unhappy misunderstandings of those who then presided in the conduct of those prime ministers : and, I am present to be at a great distance from former times, although I am now in their height, and to their own memories I am less warm against others from them in some state of remember, at least I am not free from the prejudices that prevail in the reign of *Clarendon*, who stands, might be a pattern to us, though even bishop *Burnet* is not so little esteemed upon his principles, veracity, and integrity. Upon that irreparable loss of the treasurer and secretary *Boyle*, I retired to a most endeavours, for about a year, I retired to a quiet life, where I staid until her majesty immediately returned.

justice, and common decency. How-
 ough perhaps I may not be believed
 sent age ; yet I hope to be so in the
 all who will bear any regard for the
 and liberty of *England*, if either of
 l then subsist or not.

no interest or inclination to palliate
 kes, or omissions, or want of steadi-
 unhappy misunderstandings, among a
 ose who then presided in affairs.

g is more common than the virt-
 superficial and ill-informed writers,
 he conduct of those who are now
 me ministers : and, since factions ap-
 resent to be at a greater height than
 rmer times, although perhaps not so
 oised ; it may probably concern those
 now in their height, if they have any
 their own memories in future ages,
 s warm against others who humbly
 m them in some state opinions. Old
 remember, at least by tradition, the
 prejudices that prevailed against the
 of *Clarendon*, whose character, as it
 ds, might be a pattern for all ministers ;
 even bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose
 es, veracity, and manner of writing,
 little esteemed upon many accounts,
 n at the pains to vindicate him.

that irreparable breach between the
 and secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my
 endeavours, for above two years, to re-
 them, I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*,
 staid until her majesty's death ; and
 mediately returned to my station in *Dub-*
 lin,

P R E F A C E.

n, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing or adding further than by correcting the style: and, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And yet I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negociators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did, in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

T H E

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I PROPOSE to give
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 home, during the
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 abroad, not only during
 time before and since.
 matters transacted by
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 the heads of a discon
 against the ministry,
 against the crown itself
 the debts of the nation

[II]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
OUR LAST YEARS
OF
THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

PROPOSE to give the publick an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament; as well as of our negociations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some before and since. I shall relate the chief transactions by both houses in that session; and discover the designs carried on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation; shew by what mismanagement,

HISTORY OF THE FOUR

agement, and to serve what purposes, they
e at first contracted, by what negligence or
ruption they have so prodigiously grown,
what methods have since been taken, to
vide not only for their payment, but to
vent the like mischief for the time to come.
hough, in an age like ours, I can expect
few impartial readers; yet I shall strictly
ow truth, or what reasonably appeared to
to be such, after the most impartial in-
ties I could make, and the best opportuni-
of being informed by those who were the
cipal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyrick or satire
in an history intended to inform posterity,
well as to instruct those of the present age
may be ignorant or misled; since facts,
y related, are the best applauses, or most
ng reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the
lick usually seem to be calculated for *Lon-*
only, and some few miles about it; while
authors suppose their readers to be in-
ned of several particulars, to which those
live remote are for the generality utter
ngers. Most people who frequent this
n acquire a sort of smattering (such as it
which qualifies them for reading a pam-
t, and finding out what is meant by in-
loes or hints at facts or persons, and initial
rs of names; wherein gentlemen at a dis-
e, although perhaps of much better un-
standings, are wholly in the dark: where-
that these memoirs may be rendered
more

LAST YEARS OF TH

not generally intelligible a
is convenient to give the re
of the state and disposition
session of parliament beg
party-leaders, who had
places, were, upon that
all their engines in an atte
themselves; I shall venture
represent so much of
be supposed to have in
icks.

On the 7th day of Dec
the second session of parlian
one a year since the que
put the great offices of st
hold, into other han
of the discontented lords w
son of their places; for
rough continued general,
master of the horse, an
madelay treasurer of her m
like great numbers of
employment of val
which had not been usual
changes of ministry.
aged the temper of
house of commons, whic
had freely chosen, found
of a secure and honour
posed to leave the mana
own wisdom, and that c
had therefore, several mo
then began, sent to inform
al of some overtures w

generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs when the session of parliament began. And because the party-leaders, who had lost their power and influence, were, upon that juncture, employed their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves; I shall venture one step further, and present so much of their characters as is supposed to have influenced their po-

The 7th day of *December*, 1711, began the session of parliament. It was now a year since the queen had thought fit to resign the great offices of state, and of her own accord, into other hands: however, three discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the duke of *Marlborough* continued general, the duke of *Somerset* master of the horse, and the earl of *Cholmondeley* treasurer of her majesty's household: great numbers of the same party still in employments of value and importance, had not been usual of late years upon changes of ministry. The queen, who considered the temper of her people by this session of commons, which a landed interest had very much chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and desired to leave the management of it to her wisdom, and that of her council: she therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform The States General of some overtures which had been made to her

her by the enemy; and during that summer her majesty took several further steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at *Utrecht*, for a general peace, was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court and that of *France*, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot with respect to its debts; for the earl of *Oxford*, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons (where he was then a member), for providing a parliamentary fund, to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy) without any new burthen (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which hath saved the publick somewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members, where the whole Sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shewn for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majesty's

majesty's chusing one of
great officer of state.

By this time likewise a
principles which used to
and Tory were wholly
fantastical words ought
been so too, provided w
not more convenient
distinguish lovers of p
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same degree of freedom
ministers, from others
tuned with her chusing
he was most averse from
is once divided, inter
keep open the breach
ported by any other p
a body of discontented
take up what principle

As to the disposition
we all remember that
ministry was brought
through which means
and their friends were
one astonishment, bef
This scene lasted fo
followed by a perio
natural to those who
a secure game by th
and want of common
the same time they k

Dr. John Robinson, m
wards promoted to Lon
on the death of John d

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 15

Majesty's chusing one of their body to be a
 great officer of state^e.

By this time likewise all disputes about those
 principles which used otiginally to divide Whig

Tory were wholly dropped; and those
 astical words ought in justice to have
 so too, provided we could have found
 more convenient names, whereby to
 distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of
 ; or those who would leave her majesty
 the degree of freedom in the choice of her
 sisters, from others who could not be sa-
 tisfied with her chusing any, except such as
 was most averse from: but, where a nation
 once divided, interest and animosity will
 open the breach, without being sup-
 ported by any other principles; or, at worst,
 nobody of discontented people can change, and
 set up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party,
 all remember that the removal of the last
 ministry was brought about by several degrees;
 though which means it happened, that they
 their friends were hardly recovered out of
 astonishment, before they fell into another.
 This scene lasted for some months, and was
 followed by a period of rage and despair;
 fatal to those who reflect that they have lost
 the game by their own rashness, folly,
 want of common management; when at
 the same time they knew by experience that a

Mr. *John Robinson*, lord bishop of *Bristol*, (after-
 wards promoted to *London*) to be lord privy seal,
 the death of *John* duke of *Newcastle*. N.

watchful

HISTORY OF THE FOUR

atchful and dextrous adversary lay ready to
ce the advantage. However, some time
fore the session, the heads of that party be-
n to recollect themselves, and railly their
ces, like an enemy who hath been beaten
t of the field, but finds he is not pursued;
although the chiefs of this faction were
ought to have but little esteem or friendship
each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one
neral end, of distrelling, by all possible me-
ods, the new administration; wherein if they
uld succeed so far as to put the queen under
y great necessity, another parliament must
called, and perhaps the power devolve
ain into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confede-
y appearing in both houses, although under
different form, upon the very first day the
liament met; I cannot better begin the rela-
n of affairs commencing from that period,
n by a thorough detection of the whole
rigue, carried on with the greatest privacy
d application, which must be acknowledged
have for several days disconcerted some of
e ministry, as well as dispirited their friends;
d the consequences thereof, which have in
lity been so very pernicious to the kingdom.
But because the principal leaders in this
ign are the same persons to whom, since the
s of their power, all the opposition has been
ing, which the court received, either in
aties abroad, or the administration at home;
may not be improper to describe those qua-
es, in each of them, which few of their
admirers

LAST YEARS OF THE

man will deny, and which
e influenced them in acti
upon the public stage;
ed to draw their characters
ed be tedious, and little t
e shall only single out tho
ments, and habits, wh
e not likely to transfer in
es, and which were mo
designs they seemed to hav
The lord Somers may ve
ed the head and oracle o
d raised himself, by the
y circumstances, to the
es of the state, without
on birth or fortune: he
with great steadiness, cu
es under which he grew
d first produced him i
ding for the bishops who
to The Tower, might b
e merit as honourable as
e the old republican spir
tion had restored, be
ime—That, since we
ng from a Calvinistical
d also admit new ma
ernment. But, since
y would probably adhe
urch, and to the rights
ered down from their
actice of those politica
as were perfectly in
region, and who were

will deny, and which appear chiefly influenced them in acting their several on the public stage; for I do not in- draw their characters entire, which e tedious, and little to the purpose; I only single out those passions, ac- ts, and habits, which the owners st likely to transfer into their political and which were most subservient to ns they seemed to have in view.

lord *Somers* may very deservedly be the head and oracle of that party: he sed himself, by the concurrence of rcumstances, to the greatest employ- of the state, without the least support rth or fortune: he hath constantly, a great steadiness, cultivated those prin- der which he grew. That accident rst produced him into the world, of for the bishops whom king *James* had *The Tower*, might have proved a piece t as honourable as it was fortunate; old republican spirit, which the Re- had restored, began to teach other -That, since we had accepted a new om a Calvinistical commonwealth, we lso admit new maxims in religion and nent. But, since the nobility and gen- uld probably adhere to the established and to the rights of monarchy as de- down from their ancestors; it was the of those politicians, to introduce such were perfectly indifferent to any or no , and who were not likely to inherit much

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much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow: but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private conversation, where he observeth it is inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two reasons are assigned for this behaviour; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that, being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire, upon the least appearance of provocation; which temper he strives to subdue, with the utmost violence upon himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner; perhaps, that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon

LAST YEARS OF THE

in simulation among his
in. Advice he hath none
is gratified, by being
of his party. With an
being, adorned by all the
ing, he hath very little ta
in which he prefers the p
and thinking; and in the
he moleth himself with a
in a humble companion

These are some few distin
character of that person v
the discontented par
ent answerable for all th
his precepts had been
ed, perhaps their powe
to easily shaken. I
heard him profess, th
enging in that foolish
neverell, as what he fo
in their ruin; that he
manner of some persons
great failure in prudence
appeared her majesty was
treaty of peace, he adv
suppose it in its progress,
it was made, which
like usage themselves ha
treaty of Ryswick; and
most probable way of di
advisers. I have be
saying to the reader for

iffimulation among his chief perfec-
 Avarice he hath none; and his am-
 gratified, by being the uncontested
 his party. With an excellent under-
 adorned by all the polite parts of
 he hath very little taste for conversa-
 which he prefers the pleasure of read-
 thinking; and in the intervals of his
 useth himself with an illiterate chap-
 a humble companion, or a favourite

are some few distinguishing marks in
 acter of that person who now presideth
 ne discontented party, although he
 answerable for all their mistakes: and
 precepts had been more strictly fol-
 perhaps their power would not have
 easily shaken. I have been assured,
 and him profess, that he was against
 ing in that foolish prosecution of Dr.
erell, as what he foresaw was likely to
 their ruin; that he blamed the rough
 nor of some persons to the queen, as a
 failure in prudence; and that, when it
 ed her majesty was firmly resolved upon
 y of peace, he advised his friends not to
 it in its progress, but find fault with it
 t was made, which would be a copy of the
 sage themselves had met with after the
 of *Ryswick*; and the safest as well as the
 probable way of disgracing the promoters
 advisers. I have been the larger in repre-
 g to the reader some idea of this extra-
 ordinary

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ordinary genius, because, whatever attempt hath hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The duke of *Marlborough's* character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical; but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners, who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed, to form any judgement in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle; and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had paid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and

LAST TEARS OF THE QU

We are not to take the
mission from his soliciting no
I am persuaded, his chief
and perquisites, by contin
he had then no intention
own in his family, his only
some years before. He
of great temper, able
well to disguise his passions
down or extinguished i
That liberality which
him with respect to money
great profusion of prom
tion, so necessary in con
ful in camps among so
enough to understand
his wife the dutchess may
place in this list. Is it
indebted for his great
above twenty years the p
the favours of the m
in the world, nor ever
opportunity that fell in her
to her own advantage.

He was always cool;
suffered the least variation in
could refuse more graces
could grant; and those wh
the most dissatisfied as to
business, were yet person
and, in some degree, con
Lesterfield, Letter cxxxvi
of this illustrious
p. 59, and p. 266, of this

s. — We are not to take the height of
 on from his soliciting to be General
 I am persuaded, his chief motive was
 and perquisites, by continuing the war;
 he had *then* no intentions of settling
 in his family, his only son having
 some years before. He is noted to
 of great temper, able to govern or
 to disguise his passions, which are all
 own or extinguished in his love of
 That liberality which nature has de-
 with respect to money, he makes up
 at profusion of promises: but this
 n, so necessary in courts, is not very
 l in camps among soldiers, who are
 ed enough to understand or to relish it.
 wife the dutchess may justly challenge
 e in this list. Is it to her the duke is
 indebted for his greatness and his fall;
 e twenty years she possessed, without a
 e favours of the most indulgent mis-
 the world, nor ever missed one single
 nity that fell in her way of improving
 own advantage. She hath preserved
 le was always cool; and nobody ever ob-
 the least variation in his countenance: he
 refuse more gracefully than other people
 grant; and those who went away from him
 most dissatisfied as to the substance of their
 ess, were yet personally charmed with him,
 in some degree, comforted by his manner.”
 eld, Letter cxxxvi. See some further par-
 of this illustrious General’s character, in
 and p. 266, of this volume. N.

a tolerable court-reputation with respect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were, sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world g. This lady is not without some degree of wit; and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the earl of *Godolphin* h. It is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court; which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns, and was much more constant to his second master king *James*, than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the

g See "Account of the Conduct of the Dutchess of *Marlborough*, in a Letter from Herself," 8vo, 1742. And see vol. XIX. of this collection, p. 305. vol. XXII. p. 153. N.

h *Sidney* lord *Godolphin*, created viscount *Rialton* and earl of *Godolphin*, 5 Dec. 1706. N.

day

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of his death. He always
of passion for the queen at
and his letters were to her in the
the French call *double-entendre*
love and respect, he used to
from hence little presents
which are agreeable to ladies
was asked king *William's* leave
her privacy; because, if
a circumstance, it was to
could not accept them. Physi
sly discover, by consult
lord, that his predomina
and play; that he could
be along in praise of his m
and card; or that he hath
a woman, to be used ei
gallantry or politicks.
the *Marlborough* family and
which were the cords whi
party, whose principles he
and whose leaders he person
him. He became a th
perfect trifle; taking fire
erred by Dr. *Sacheverell*
tion, from the pulpit,
himself: and this is one a
even by his enemies, th
one of his virtues.
The earl of *Sunderland*
ance. It seems to ha
and's fortune to have lea

i Volpe

is death. He always professed a sort
for the queen at *St. Germain's* ;
letters were to her in the style of what
call *double-entendre*. In a mixture
and respect, he used frequently to send
hence little presents of those things
agreeable to ladies, for which he
asked king *William's* leave, as if with-
privity ; because, if she had known
umstance, it was to be supposed, she
ot accept them. Physiognomists would
discover, by consulting the aspect of
, that his predominant passions were
play ; that he could sometimes scratch
g in praise of his mistress with a pen-
card ; or that he hath tears at command,
oman, to be used either in an intrigue
ntry or politicks. His alliance with
Alborough family and his passion for the
s were the cords which dragged him into
whose principles he naturally disliked,
ose leaders he personally hated, as they
. He became a thorough convert, by
t trifle ; taking fire at a nick-name^d de-
by Dr. *Sacheverell*, with great indif-
from the pulpit, which he applied to
: and this is one among many instances
by his enemies, that magnanimity is
f his virtues.

earl of *Sunderland* is another of that
e. It seems to have been this gentle-
fortune to have learned his divinity from

i Volpone.

his

is uncle, and his politicks from his tutor ^k. It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuse the title of Lord (as he hath done to myself), wear he would never be called otherwise than *Charles Spencer*, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in *England*. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an over-grown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to ^l, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he hath done renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he hath given greatest cause to complain; for which reason, he will never forgive either the queen or the present treasurer.

The earl of *Wharton* hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his father's ^m principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circum-

^k Dr. *Charles Trimmel*, who, in 1721, was advanced to the see of *Winchester*. N.

ⁱ His lordship married the dutchess of *Marlborough's* second daughter. *Account*, &c. p. 286. N.

^m The earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian. stance,

LAST YEARS OF THE C
 he is a firm Presbyterian
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 making converts of young
 on their first appearance; in
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 e to let himself right.
 heads of his party thin
 and abandoned, yet th
 mel of him; for, besides
 mmed, he is very usefu
 a ready speaker, and co
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 true nature of faction;
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 The lord *Cowper*, altho
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is a firm Presbyterian. He is per-
 mitted in all the arts of managing at
 as well as in large baits of pleasure
 ng converts of young men of quality
 ir first appearance; in which public
 e contracted such large debts, that his
 were forced, out of mere justice, to
land at his mercy, where he had only
 set himself right. Although the
 eads of his party think him too pro-
 nd abandoned, yet they dare not be
 of him; for, besides his talents above-
 ed, he is very useful in parliament,
 ready speaker, and content to employ
 upon such occasions where those who
 they have any remainder of reputa-
 modesty are ashamed to appear. In
 is an uncontestable instance to discover
 nature of faction; since, being over-
 every quality which produceth con-
 nd hatred in all other commerce of the
 he hath notwithstanding been able to
 considerable a figure.

lord *Cowper*, although his merits are
 an the rest, deserveth a rank in this
 ouncil. He was considerable in the
 of a practising lawyer; but, as he was
 o be a chancellor and a peer without
 through any of the intermediate steps,
 n late times had been the constant prac-
 d little skilled in the nature of govern-
 or the true interest of princes, further
 e municipal or common law of *Eng-*
 his abilities as to foreign affairs did

not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call *a piece of a scholar*, and a good logical reasoner; if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the earl of *Nottingham*, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends. His vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the prince of *Orange* to the throne are yet to be seen: and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to king *William*. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect,

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 did, to they are the excuse for
 of severity with which his na
 in still complexion disposed
 of luxury, which his admini
 the use of zeal. No man
 countenance, or more tr
 mind and manners. He b
 in the law, very amply
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 stance, descended to him
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 into an opinion of his
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 which it was partly the
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 These lineaments,
 drawn, may help the r
 conceive what sort of pe
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they are the excuse for that stiffness
 quality with which his nature is fraught.
 His complexion disposeth him to rigour
 and severity, which his admirers palliate with
 the name of zeal. No man had ever a finer
 countenance, or more truly representing
 his mind and manners. He hath some know-
 ledge of the law, very amply sufficient to de-
 fend his property at least. A facility of ut-
 terance descended to him from his father,
 improved by a few sprinklings of litera-
 ture which he brought himself, and some few ad-
 mirers brought him into an opinion of his eloquence. He
 was in every way inferior to his brother *Guernsey*,
 especially in those talents which he most
 valued and pretends to; over whom, never-
 theless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great
 ambition was, to be the head of those who
 called the church party; and, indeed,
 his solemn deportment and countenance,
 supported by abundance of professions for their
 service, had given many of them an opinion
 of his veracity, which he interpreted as their
 respect for his judgement and wisdom; and this
 continued till the time of his defection, of
 which it was partly the cause: but then it
 appeared, that he had not credit to
 give over one single profelyte, to keep him-
 countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly
 they may help the reader's imagination to
 give what sort of persons those were, who
 had the boldness to encounter the queen and
 her party, at the head of a great majority of

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the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned. During the dominion of the late men in power, addressees had been procured from both houses to the queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for *Britain*, while *Spain* or *The West Indies* remained in the possession of the *Bourbon* family. But her majesty, having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and chose a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people; the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and, lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* families. Upon all which motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from *France*, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negociation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals

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proposals were received from
thought sufficient by our coun-
some time and place for a
at soon after the opening of
shop of Bristol, lord privy
moved to Utrecht, where he
ford were appointed plen-
queen of Great Britain.

The managers of the di-
no, during the whole sum-
motions of the court ru-
peace, began to gather up
to oppose her majesty
ment should meet.
in the house of lords
a very crazy majority,
whose hearts were in the
whose fears, expectations
balance, had hitherto
ounds. There were two
ilities and influence, of
the managers built
The first was the duke of
the horse. This duke, a
in a good degree of
upon the score of some
her majesty had received
was princesses. For son

See above, p. 15. N
In 1592, on a differen-
the prince's quitted the C
duke of Somerset's offer o
my residence. Account
Cavalier, p. 59; and see p
C

s were received from *France* as were sufficient by our court whereupon to time and place for a general treaty; after the opening of the session, the of *Bristol*, lord privy-seal^m, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the earl of *d* were appointed plenipotentiaries for en of *Great Britain*.

managers of the discontented party, during the whole summer, had observed motions of the court running fast towards, began to gather up all their forces, in oppose her majesty's designs when the ent should meet. Their only strength the honuse of lords, where the queen every crazy majority, made up by those hearts were in the other interest; but fears, expectations, or immediate de- ce, had hitherto kept them within. There were two lords, upon whose s and influence, of a very different na- he managers built their strongest hopes. It was the duke of *Somerfet*, master of ce. This duke, as well as his duchess, a good degree of favour with the queen, he score of some civilities and respects majesty had received from them, while she incessⁿ. For some years after the Re-

ee above, p. 15. N.

1592, on a difference with king *William III*, in- cess- quitted the Cockpit, and accepted the of *Somerfet's* offer of *Sion House* for a tempo- residence. *Account of the Duchess of M's* p. 59; and see particularly p. 70. N.

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olution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of *Rochester* who first presented him to king *William*. However, since the time he came in to employment, which was towards the close of the last reign, he hath been a constant zealous member of the other party; but never failed in either attendance or respect towards the queen's person; or, at most, only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all against duty or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the lords of the Junto^o, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of *Hanover*. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them; they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party-leaders; so that, upon the queen's first intentions of changing her ministry, soon after the trial of Dr. *Sacheverell*,

o A cant name given to Five Lords of that party, he

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several meetings with
in the most private manner
times least liable to suspicion
all his credit with the
removal of my lord Gadsden
in the council, treated
minister who continued some
places with all possible im-
But, when the queen
during the parliament, he
already satiated his re-
not against things, but
opposed that counsel,
make for the parliament.
The queen had declared her
resolution, he flew off in
opposed the court in
influence or power
able advances to reconcil-
larded lords, especially
who is reported to have
remarked in a most com-
the sincerity of his re-
manifestly in the fir-
liament, and the use he
on remaining credit, on
chiefs, with the queen
concilement. He still kept
place in the cabinet-coun-
appeared there, from an
sessions and proceedings.
the end of summer, 1711
the cabinet council was
whether by directions from

ted several meetings with Mr. *Harley* in the most private manner, in places as least liable to suspicion. He employed his credit with the queen, to drive the removal of my lord *Godolphin* and the duke, in the council, treated the small party who continued some time longer in the council with all possible marks of hatred. But, when the question came for the dissolution of the parliament, he stopt short; he had already fatiated his resentments, which were directed against things, but persons: he supposed that counsel, and promised to do for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than he had ever before proposed the court in all elections where he had influence or power; and made very great advances to reconcile himself with the lords, especially the earl of *Godolphin*, who is reported to have treated him at *St. James's* in a most contemptuous manner. His sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his remaining credit, or rather that of his connection with the queen, at length begat a relentment. He still kept his employment, and his place in the cabinet-council; but had never returned there, from an avowed dislike of all the court and proceedings. It happened, about the end of summer, 1711, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet council was summoned, this duke, either by directions from his teachers, or the instability

instability of his nature, took a fancy to resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which, Mr. secretary *St. John* refused to assist; and gave his reasons, “that he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obstruct all her majesty’s measures.”

Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war against the ministry; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spurring up several depending lords to adhere to their friends when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of were, “That those in power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure peace, without consulting the allies; that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or *The West Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* family: upon which, several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow; that the differences between the two houses, upon this point, must either be made up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry, who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes.” He farther assured them boldly,

“That the queen her
of this design, and
to desire their votes a
a point that would be
and therefore they need not
out of their pensions,
of favour they expect
the old art of using
against her person, l
who were not otherw
to oppose the crown;
pretend to some share
ed for an argument
kept his place and fa
done to deserve the los
The other lord, in who
angers placed much of
of *Nottingham*, alread
no man ever app
or to be more pl
only from his avowed p
the hopes he had
But it fell out,
ceptable to the queen,
he apprehended no li
ment to the public busi
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ffered to have any p
and very ill with the
tion in the house of
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“That the queen herself was at the head of this design, and had empowered them to desire their votes against the peace, and to point that would be for her service ; therefore they need not be in pain upon the loss of their pensions, or any farther loss of favour they expected.” Thus, by the old art of using her majesty’s authority against her person, he prevailed over those who were not otherwise in a station to oppose the crown ; and his profelytes could pretend to some share of pity, since he put for an argument his own example, and lost his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

Another lord, in whom the discontented lords placed much of their hopes, was the *Nottingham*, already mentioned ; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall, not from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their ruin.

But it fell out, that he was no way agreeable to the queen, or her new servants : he apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public business, from his restless, peevish, overweening manner, if once he was allowed to have any part in affairs ; and he was very ill with the court, having made a bad figure in the house of lords, and in her majesty’s presence, “that the electoral prince of *Bohemia* might be invited to reside in *England* ;” although he had before declared to the queen, how much he was against that proposal,

posul, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of *Rochester's* decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the duke of *Newcastle*, lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the earl of *Jersey*, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the bishop of *Bristol*: by which he plainly saw that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, "that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined." The discontented lords were soon apprized of this great change; and the duke of *Roxborough*, the earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the church-party, and perhaps bring them over

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to his interests, he proposed, that a bill should be brought into the house of lords, for obtaining occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion; and that their oppositions to court wholly proceeded from their care of religion, and concern for its honour and

These preparations were public enough, and ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but they seem to have acted, in this manner, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclination of the kingdom, rather than to those which our corruptions have too often rendered necessary. Calculations were indeed made by which it was computed, that there should be a majority of ten upon the side of court. I remember to have told my lord *Ort* and Mr. *Prior*, "That a majority of five was only a majority of five, because, if the adversaries could bring off five, the numbers would be equal:" and so it happened to be; for the mistake lay in counting upon the promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were kept in awe by the fear of offending the king, and losing their subsistence, wherein the Duke of *Somerset* had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and the hopes of the event, the parliament met

met upon the 7th of *December*, 1711. The queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her majesty was withdrawn, the house of lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the earl of *Nottingham* proposed an addition of the following clause:

“ And we do beg leave to represent it to your
 “ majesty, as the humble opinion and advice
 “ of this house, that no peace can be safe or
 “ honourable to *Great Britain* and *Europe*, if
 “ *Spain* and *The West Indies* are to be al-
 “ lotted to any branch of the house of *Bour-*
 “ *bon*.”

He was seconded by the earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day, the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former) went along with the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh; to which her majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to lord *Nottingham's* clause, said,
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that she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and *The West Indies* from the hands of *Bourbon*."

On the 15th of *December*, the earl of *Orham* likewise brought in the bill to the occasional conformity (although under a disguised title); which met with no opposition but was swallowed by those very lords who always appeared with the utmost violence against the least advantage to the established

in the house of commons there appeared a very different spirit; for when one *Robert Walpole* offered a clause of the bill in concurrence with that of the earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with contempt by a very majority. Their address was in the most respectful manner; approving of what she had done towards a peace, and trusting to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the queen the day before that of the lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the opposition party was no ways discouraged by the answer; which they looked upon as only a compliance of course, and the sense of the ministry, not to that of the queen.

Parliament sat as long as the approach of winter would allow; and upon the 22d, all tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following: the adjournment of the lords was only to the next session, the prevailing party there being in

haste to pursue the consequences of the earl of *Nottingham's* clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the commons.

When this address against any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most mens passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The earl of *Wharton* was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. *Parker*, the chief-justice, began already with great zeal and officiousness to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

On the other side, all well-wishers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the foremost mark both of his enemies fury and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others, to his unmeasurable public thrift. Both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event: and some began to doubt, whether the great fame
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abilities, acquired in other stations, were he justly deserved. All this he knew enough, and heard it with great phlegm; nor did it make any alteration in his coun- ce or humour. He told Monsieur *Buys*, *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parlia- ment, "That he was sorry for what was to pass, because The States would be first sufferers; which he desired the envoy remember." And to his nearest friends, appeared in pain about the publick or selves, he only said, "That all would be ;" and desired them not to be frightened. As, I conceive, upon these motives, that a counsellor advised her majesty to create new lords, and thereby disable the sting of punishment for the rest of her life-time. This resolution was so ordered, that a third part of those on whom, or their posterity, the charge would naturally devolve; and there were such, whose merit, birth, and for- mer services, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party, being thus driven down in force, had nothing left but to com- plain, which they loudly did—"That it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make in any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the number of lords whenever they pleased; which would be dangerous to our liberties." To this it was answered, "That ill princes should not trouble themselves to look for pre- sents: That men of great estates will not

“ be less fond of preserving their liberties
 “ when they are created peers : That, in such
 “ a government as this, where the prince holds
 “ the balance between two great powers, the
 “ nobility and people, it is the very nature of
 “ his office to remove from one scale into the
 “ other, or sometimes put his own weight in
 “ the lightest, so as to bring both to an equi-
 “ librium : And lastly, That the other party
 “ had been above twenty years corrupting the
 “ nobility with republican principles, which
 “ nothing but the royal prerogative could hin-
 “ der from overspreading us.”

The conformity-bill above-mentioned was
 prepared by the earl of *Nottingham* before the
 parliament met, and brought in at the same
 time with the clause against peace, according
 to the bargain made between him and his new
 friends. “ This,” he hoped, would not only save
 his credit with the church-party, but bring
 them over to his politicks ; since they must
 needs be convinced that, instead of changing
 his own principles, he had prevailed on the
 greatest enemies to the established religion to
 be the first movers in a law for the perpetual
 settlement of it. Here it was worth observing,
 with what resignation the Junto Lords (as
 they were then called) were submitted to by
 their adherents and followers : for it is well
 known, that the chief among the dissenting
 teachers in town were consulted upon this af-
 fair ; and such arguments used, as had power
 to convince them that nothing could be of
 greater advantage to their cause than the pas-
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his bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at me from one of them to a great man⁹, saying, "that they were betrayed and one by their pretended friends;" but were in general very well satisfied, upon which that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as their friends should be re-established.

Nothing seemed more extraordinary than the conduct of this refined management, by the earl of *Nottingham* was so far from being over profelytes (wherein his abilities were short even of the duke of *Somerset's*), or losing the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine any such design; only, when he brought his bill, they conceived it was some wonderful reach of politicks, which they did not comprehend: however, they liked it; and, without troubling themselves to enquire the persons or motives from whence it came, it had a very speedy passage through both houses.

It must be confessed, that some attacks of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party, than is generally supposed. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore sacrificed in the design of ruining the ministers as well as their ambition. The duke of *Gloucester* forelaw those examinations

⁹ It was to the treasurer himself.

which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at *The Hague* 1709; for what ends, and by whose advice, the propositions of peace from *France* were rejected. Besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof^r. It is true, indeed, that whilst the duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures^s (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, "That the world was mistaken, in censuring his lord upon this article; for it was the queen who pressed the duke to accept that commission; and upon his humble refusal conceived her first displeasure against him." How such a defence would have passed if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of *Godolphin* wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security.

^r See vol. XV, of this collection, p. 21, N.

^s Mr. *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

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new that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pass their accompts should be punished as a breach of trust. He run the kingdom into immense debts, by piling up stores for the navy upon a vast disbursement, without parliamentary security; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity: and he had given way, at least, to some proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the treasury had suffered considerable losses. The over-treaty sat heavy upon the lord *Town-*ship's spirits, because, if it should be laid before the house of commons, whoever negotiated that affair might be subject to the most severe animadversions: and the earl of *Whar-*minster's administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this; and Monsieur *Buys*, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their *English* friends, which became two confederates pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in *Holland* from that republick, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* quotation, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of

the world. His reasonings upon politicks are with great profusion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into *England* with instructions authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her majesty and The States; but, having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry, "he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude:" and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of The States; which were, to carry on the war as they could, at our expence; and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence.

The emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all counsels which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*. Nay, the elector of *Hanover* himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations

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cautious writers, in order to avoid offence
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 foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong
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 employed. But I should have taken a securer
 road, and have been wholly silent in this
 matter, if I had not then conceived some hope
 that his electoral highness might possibly have
 been a stranger to the memorial of his resident :
 first, the manner of delivering it to the
 secretary of state was out of all form, and al-
 so as extraordinary as the thing itself.
 Monsieur *Bothmar*, having obtained an hour
 of Mr. secretary *St. John*, talked much to him
 on the subject of which that memorial con-
 tained ; and, upon going away, desired he might
 have a paper with the secretary, which, he
 contained the substance of what he had
 been discoursing. This paper Mr. *St. John*
 laid aside, among others of little consequence ;
 a few days after saw a memorial in print,
 which he found upon comparing to be the same
 as what *Bothmar* had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and
 on the 5th day of *January*, prince *Eugene*
Savoy landed in *England*. Before he left

his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, "Whether the new lords were made, and what was their number?" He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to *St. James's*, where Mr. secretary *St. John* introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the project of his journey had as long been formed here by the party-leaders, in concert with Monsieur *Buy*s and Monsieur *Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war on a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. *St. John* soon after produced to the house of commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the house in the words following:

"His imperial majesty judges that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in *Spain* may amount to four millions of crowns; towards which, his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops which he has in that country to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service:

LAST YEARS OF

service; for it was supposed to bear the greatest proportion to nearly concerned in their contributing or might be paid by his States, as they

The design of prince to raise a spirit in the continuing the thought impossible to reputation in arms, i emperor, and empowe his from his master a rest. It appeared him count *Gallas* (voy here), that th his liberty of making in the emperor's name could once be brought war go on, the minister cessity of applying an and the emperor cou reasons and excuses, for not furnishing hi Eugene, for some ti generals; until, being self upon that partic which the house of most at heart, he mentioned, as a most ex it was, considering done before, toward to themselves: but

vice; for it was supposed the emperor ought bear the greatest proportion, in a point that nearly concerned him; or at least that, *Spain* contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of prince *Eugene's* journey was, to raise a spirit in the parliament and people continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count *Gallas* (formerly the emperor's envoy here), that the prince was wholly left his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the emperor's name; for, if the parliament should once be brought to raise funds, and then to go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; but the emperor could find afterwards twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota. Therefore prince *Eugene*, for some time, kept himself within his quarters; until, being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the house of *Austria* pretended to have at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy for themselves: but, shameful as these proposals

were, few believed the emperor would observe them; or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men as would make up an army of thirty thousand men to be employed in Spain.

Prince *Eugene's* visit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected. He was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other ministers and great officers of the court, but on all occasions publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in secret, held continual meetings with the duke of *Marlborough* and the other discontented lords, where M. *Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince, to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty sometime charged upon the *Italians*; and being nursed in arms, has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said, "He had hopes of others; but that the treasurer was *un mecbant diable*, not to be moved." Therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the

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head of affairs, he proposed an expedient practised by those of his country, "That the treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off *à la negligence*; that this might be easily done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night." And in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and, joining themselves with those disorderly people that often infest the streets at midnight, did inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without provocation. But an effectual stop was put to those enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatever, upon slight grounds or doubtful surmises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history. But, as the account was given by more than one person who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed without all contradiction by several intercepted letters and papers: and it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels yet more violent and desperate than this, which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person

person of her majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of *December*, 1711, the duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his employments: the duke of *Ormond* succeeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of *Marlborough*) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success for many years against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is to be held of greater moment, either in the progress of a war or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the queen and ministry to have kept the duke of *Marlborough* in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make usually much more noise than the causes. Thus, the sound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of the

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reasons which made it necessary ; whereof
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return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival
upon the 17th of *November*, called queen
Elizabeth's day, when great numbers of his
courtiers and admirers had thought fit to re-
new an old ceremony among the rabble, of
burning the pope in effigy ; for the performance
of which with more solemnity, they had made
extraordinary preparations. From the several
circumstances of the expence of this intended
entertainment, and of the persons who promoted
it at the court, apprehensive of a design to in-
fluence the common people, thought fit to order,
that the several figures should be seized as
with trinkets ; and guards were ordered to
be placed, for preventing any tumultuous assem-
bly. Whether this frolick were only in-
stituted for an affront to the court, or whether
it had a deeper meaning, I must leave unde-
termined. The duke, in his own nature, is
much inclined to be popular ; and in his
travelling times, whenever he came back to
England upon the close of a campaign, he rather
endeavored to avoid any concourse of the *mob*,
if they had been disposed to attend him :
therefore so very contrary a proceeding, at this
season, made it suspected as if he had a design
to have placed himself at their head. "*France,*"
"*Liberty,*" "*The Pretender,*" "*Peace with-*"
"*out Spain,*" were the words to be given
out at this mock-parade ; and if what was
said was confidently

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confidently asserted, be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of those in power, the duke's arrival was without any noise or consequence; and, upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and his infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem*. But reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers, being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and, by the accession of the earl of *Nottingham*, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the duke of *Somerset*, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords: so that, in this view of circumstances, the duke of

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Marlborough thought he acted with security as well as advantage. He therefore fell, with his whole weight, into the snare of ruining the ministry at the expence of his duty to his sovereign and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. **WHIG** and **TORY** now no longer the dispute; but **THE QUEEN** or **THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH**. was at the head of all the cabals and conspired with *Bothmar*, *Buys*, and the discontented. He forgot that government of his past, for which his admirers used to celebrate him, fell into all the impotences of anger and violence upon every party-debate: so that the queen found herself under a necessity, either, on the one side, to sacrifice those friends who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some whose former treatment had little reason to be fond of, to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties and expense. Her majesty therefore determined on the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and during the recess at *Christmas*, sent the duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service^t.

See the duchess of *Marlborough's* narrative of this transaction, in the *Account of her Conduct*, &c. p. 269; where his grace's letter to the queen, and his dismissal from her service, is printed. N.

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There hath not perhaps in the present age been a clearer instance to shew the instability of greatness which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can by a little resolution be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was beyond all comparison the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and, except a few friends or followers by inclination, the rest dropt off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there: that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him, when he stood most in need of its assistance; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

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OUR LAST YEARS

OF

THE QUEEN.

 BOOK II.

THE house of lords met upon the 2d day of *January*, according to their adjournment; but, before they could proceed to business, the twelve new-created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly; who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the next day with the commons. Upon the 14th of *January*, the two houses met; but the queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message, to inform them, “ That she
was

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“ was prevented by a sudden return of the
 “ gout; and to desire they would adjourn
 “ for three days longer, when her majesty
 “ hoped she should be able to speak to them.”
 However, her indisposition still continuing,
 Mr. secretary *St. John* brought another mes-
 sage to the house of commons from the queen,
 containing the substance of what she intended
 to have spoken: “ That she could now tell
 “ them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at
 “ *Utrecht*; had begun, in pursuance of her
 “ instructions, to concert the most proper
 “ ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all
 “ powers in alliance with her, according to
 “ their several treaties, and particularly with
 “ relation to *Spain* and *The West-Indies*: That
 “ she promised to communicate to them the
 “ conditions of peace, before the same should
 “ be concluded: That the world would now
 “ see how groundless those reports were, and
 “ without the least colour, that a separate
 “ peace had been treated: That her ministers
 “ were directed to propose, that a day might
 “ be fixed for the finishing, as was done for
 “ the commencement, of this treaty; and
 “ that, in the mean time, all preparations
 “ were hastening for an early campaign, &c.”

Her majesty's endeavours towards this great
 work having been in such a forwardness at
 the time that her message was sent; I shall
 here, as in the most proper place, relate
 the several steps by which the intercourse be-
 tween the courts of *France* and *Britain* was
 begun and carried on.

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the marquis *De Torcy*, sent by the most christian king to *The Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of The States, might fit to refuse; and advanced other proposals in their stead; but of such a nature no prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was intended, among other things, "That the french king should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of *Spain*." The ministers knew very well, that the enemy would never consent to this; and, if it were possible they could at first have any such proposals, *Monf. De Torcy* assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for then the *British* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands. He desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression: which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then intended to know their last resolution, whether they were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and, having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:

That he thanked them heartily, for giving him the happiest day he had ever seen in his life: That, in perfect obedience to his master, he had made concessions in his own opinion highly derogatory to the
"king's

“ king’s honour and interest: That he had
 “ not concealed the difficulties of his court,
 “ or the discontents of his country, by a long
 “ and unsuccessful war, which could only
 “ justify the large offers he had been em-
 “ powered to make: That the conditions of
 “ peace now delivered into his hands by the
 “ allies would raise a new spirit in the na-
 “ tion, and remove the greatest difficulty the
 “ court lay under; putting it in his master’s
 “ power to convince all his subjects how ear-
 “ nestly his majesty desired to ease them from
 “ the burthen of the war; but that his ene-
 “ mies would not accept of any terms, which
 “ could consist either with their safety or his
 “ honour.” Mons. *De Torcy* assured the pen-
 sioner, in the strongest manner, and bid him
 count upon it, “ That the king his master
 “ would never sign those articles.”

It soon appeared that the marquis *De Torcy*’s predictions were true; for, upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects, against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies: which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it; for the *French* nation, extremely jealous of their monarch’s glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom

(generally

(generally thought to be in wealth), when driven by the imprudence of the king and the ruin of particular councils, recovered himself for three years in the last, by the treaty of the *Dutch* (very much assisted by the assistance of *Br* and finally abandoned). The whole confederacy. Those who, in order to the success of the allies, in this negotiation, desired I have now the zeal of the *British* for a peace, by informing the king after Mons. *de Torcy*, for a farther time Mr. *Horatio* the queen’s plenipotentiary hither, to have signed and ratified by the king; which was accomplished by management altogether out of example; contrary to the people into a belief that he was to shew what he was designed to do.

But this hope expired. France had refused to be solved by reconciliation. The *French* perfidiously with v

generally thought to be wholly exhausted (its wealth), when driven to a necessity by imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced its councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns; in the last, by the fatal blindness or obduracy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the assistance of *Britain*, which they had needfully abandoned), was an over-match for the whole confederate army.

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related; and express the zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. *De Torcy* and Mons. *Ville*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, secretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched for hither, to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done: a piece of management altogether absurd, and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to shew what great things the ministry signed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refused to sign those articles, all was solved by recourse to the old topick of *French* perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with with ignominious appellations;

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tions; "they were a nation never to be trusted." The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of *Dr. Sacheverel*, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The king of *France*, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But, upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in *England*, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England* a *French* ecclesiastic, called the abbé *Gualtier*, who had resided several years in *London*, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise

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his function of a priest. After the
of *Blenheim*, this gentleman went down
Nottingham, where several *French* prisoners
quality were kept; to whom he rendered
offices of civility suitable to persons in
condition, which, upon their return to
ce, they reported to his advantage. Among
rest, the chevalier *De Croissy* told his bro-
the marquis *De Torcy*, "That, whenever
French court would have a mind to make
ertures of peace with *England*, *Monf.*
Gualtier might be very usefully employed in
nding them to the ministers here." This
no further thought of at present. In the
a time the war went on; and the con-
ices at *The Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*
arried, by the allies insisting upon such
ands as they neither expected nor perhaps
ed should be granted.

ome time in *July*, 1710, *Monf. Gualtier*
ived a letter from the marquis *De Torcy*,
ifying, "That, a report being spread of
er majesty's intentions to change her mi-
istry, to take *Mr. Harley* into her councils,
ad to dissolve her parliament, the most
hristian king thought it might be now a
avourable conjuncture to offer new pro-
osals of a treaty." *Monf. Gualtier* was
efore directed to apply himself, in the
quis's name, either to the duke of *Shrewsf-*
y, the earl of *Jersey*, or *Mr. Harley*; and
orm the *French* court how such a proposi-
would be relished. *Gualtier* chose to
ver his message to the second of those,

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who had been ambassador from the late king to *France*. But the earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from *Monf. De Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that minister to the earl himself; and did so, in a month after: but obtained no answer till *December* following; when the queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of *January*, the abbé (after having procured his dismissal from count *Gallas*, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform *Monf. De Torcy*, "that her majesty would
 " be willing his master should resume the
 " treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands
 " of *England* might be previously granted." *Gualtier* came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, "That the *Dutch* had
 " used the most Christian king and his mi-
 " nisters in such a manner, both at *The Hague*
 " and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that prince
 " resolve not to expose himself any more to
 " the like treatment; that he therefore chose
 " to address himself to *England*, and was
 " ready to make whatever offers her majesty
 " could reasonably expect, for the advantage
 " of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction
 " of her allies."

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, *Monf. Gualtier* was dispatched a second time to *France*,
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at the beginning of *March*, 1710-11, with answer to the following purpose: "That, since *France* had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That *France* should send over hither the propositions for a treaty, which should be transmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood, that the same proposition formerly offered to *Holland* was to be made to *England*, or one not less advantageous to the allies: for though *England* would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and shew, in the course of it, the clearness of their intentions; yet they could not, with honour, entertain a less beneficial proposal than that was offered to 'The States.'"

That prince, as well as his minister *Monf. Torcy*, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to The States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They had altogether to distrust the inclination that republick towards a peace; but, at the same time, shewed a mighty complaisance to the *English* nation, and a desire to have her pre-eminence at the head of a treaty. This appears the first overture in form sent from that

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kingdom, and signed by Mons. *De Torcy*, on the 22d of *April*, N. S. 1711, to the following effect :

“ That, as it could not be doubted but the
 “ king was in a condition of continuing the
 “ war with honour, so it could not be looked
 “ on as a mark of weakness in his majesty
 “ to break the silence he had kept since the
 “ conferences at *Gertruydenberg*; and that,
 “ before the opening of the campaign, he
 “ now gives farther proof of the desire he
 “ always had to procure the repose of *Europe*.
 “ But, after what he hath found, by experience,
 “ of the sentiments of those persons
 “ who now govern the republick of *Holland*,
 “ and of their industry in rendering all negotiations
 “ without effect, his majesty will,
 “ for the public good, offer to the *English*
 “ nation those propositions which he thinks
 “ fit to make, for terminating the war, and for
 “ settling the tranquillity of *Europe* upon a
 “ solid foundation. It is with this view that
 “ he offers to enter into a treaty of peace,
 “ founded on the following conditions :

“ First, The *English* nation shall have real
 “ securities for carrying on their trade in
 “ *Spain*, *The Indies*, and ports of *The Mediterranean*.

“ Secondly, The king will consent to form
 “ a sufficient barrier in *The Low Countries*,
 “ for the security of the republick of *Holland*;
 “ and this barrier shall be such as *England*
 “ shall agree upon and approve; his majesty
 “ promising, at the same time, an
 “ entire

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entire liberty and security to the trade of the *Dutch*.

Thirdly, all reasonable methods shall be sought of, with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of *England* and *Holland*.

Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of *Spain* are in so good a condition as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned; all sincere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the difficulties risen upon this occasion; and the trade and interest of all parties engaged in the present war shall be secured.

Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon these conditions, shall be immediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries whom the king shall name to assist hereat shall treat with those of *England* and *Holland*, either alone or in conjunction with those of their allies, as *England* shall chuse.

Sixthly, His majesty proposes the towns of *Aix la Chapelle* or *Liege* for the place where the plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the choice likewise to *England*, of either of the said towns, wherein to treat of a general peace."

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's

command to her ambassador in *Holland*, with orders that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The abbé *Gualtier* was desired to signify this proceeding to the marquis *De Torcy*; at the same time to let that minister understand, “that some of the above articles ought to be explained.” The lord *Raby*, now earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the pensionary, “That her majesty, being resolved, in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with The States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance: That the queen earnestly desired, that the secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the pensionary would advise upon this occasion with no person whatsoever, except such as, by the constitution of that government, are unavoidably necessary: That the terms of the several propositions were indeed too general; but, however, they contained an offer to treat: And that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to *England* through the whole paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet this could have no ill consequences, as long as the queen and The States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of *Britain*, should be inviolably observed.” It was signified likewise to the pensionary, “That the duke of *Marlborough* had no communication of this affair from *England*; and that it was

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“supposed he would be
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“After these proposals
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pposed he would have none from *The Hague*."

After these proposals had been considered in *and*, the ambassador was directed to send the opinion of the *Dutch* ministers upon it. The court here was indeed apprehensive that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur *de Torcy's* paper, particularly at these expressions, "That the *English* shall have real securities for their trade, &c.; and that the barrier for The States General shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve." It was natural to think, the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive, our obtaining advantageous terms for *Bri-*, might put them upon trying under-hand themselves, and endeavouring to over-throw us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be watchful in discovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the lord *Raby* was first sent to *The Hague*, the duke of *Marlborough* and lord *Windsor* had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, other accounts needless to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in *Flan-*, should not be let into the secret of this air.

The proposal of *Aix* or *Liege*, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their discontent against *Holland*, to shew they would

would not name any town which belonged to The States.

The pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence she placed in The States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part: “That, although
 “The States endeavoured to hide it from the
 “enemy, they were as weary of the war as
 “we; and very heartily desirous of a good
 “and lasting peace, as well as ready to join in
 “any method which her majesty should think
 “proper to obtain it: That The States looked
 “upon these propositions as very dark and
 “general; and they observed how the enemy
 “would create jealousies between the queen,
 “their republick, and the other allies; but
 “they were satisfied it would have no effect,
 “and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her majesty, who, they doubted
 “not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several points
 “of their proposals, and send a plan of the
 “particular conditions whereupon they would
 “make a peace; after which, The States
 “would be ready, either to join with her
 “majesty, or to make their objections; and
 “were prepared to bring with them all the
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rs: for, after the queen had transmitted
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ugh to stipulate something for themselves;
they had done in their own case, both at
Hague and *Gertruydenberg*, where they
ved as they pleased, without any regard to
interests of their nearest allies. For this
on, while they endeavoured to amuse the
tish court with expostulations upon the fe-
al preliminaries sent from *France*, Mon-
r *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of
stein, who had resided some years in *Holland*,
ociated with *Heinsius* the grand pensionary
well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about
toring the conferences between *France* and
at republick, broken off in *Gertruydenberg*;
rsuant to which, about the end of *May*,
S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the marquis *De*
rcy, with the privity of the pensionary, and
probably

probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was, to inform the marquis, “ That things might easily be disposed so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of peace: That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur *Heinsius*, by virtue of his oath as pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the ministers of the emperor, or those of her *British* majesty: That, since *England* thought it proper for king *Charles* to continue the whole campaign in *Catalonia* (though he should be chosen emperor) in order to support the war in *Spain*, it was necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret manner with The States, who were not now so violently as formerly against having *Philip* on the *Spanish* throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade; but were jealous of *England*’s design to fortify some trading towns in *Spain* for themselves: That *Heinsius* extremely desired to get out of the war, for some reasons which he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell; and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impatient to have the negociations with *France* once more set on foot; which if Monsieur *Torcy* thought fit to consent to, *Petecum* engaged that The States would determine to

“ settle

the preliminaries, from Paris and The Ha-
 vening the most Ch-
 able to employ.”
 Monsieur *Torcy* refus-
 his answer to Monsieur
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 good friends and
 opinion on that

le the preliminaries, in the midway between *Paris* and *The Hague*, with whatever assists the most Christian king should use to employ."

Monfieur *Torcy* refused this overture; and, in answer to Monfieur *Petecum*, assigned the reason the treatment his master's proposals had met with, at *The Hague* *Gertruydenberg*, from the ministers of *Holland*. *Britain* and *Holland* seemed well agreed, that those proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a foundation for going upon a general treaty; and Monfieur *Petecum* was desired to signify to the *French* "That it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several articles."

At the same time the queen was firmly resolved that the interests of her own kingdom should not be neglected at this juncture, when they had formerly twice been, while she and her ministers were principal managers of a negotiation with *France*. Her majesty had given prompt and early notice to The States, of the general disposition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backness of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of *France*; which she had refused toarken to, till she had consulted with those good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject. But the *Dutch*,
who

who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and fullen, disliked all proposals by the queen's intervention, and said, "It was a piece of artifice of *France*, to divide the allies." Besides, they knew the ministry was young; and the opposite faction had given them assurances, "that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary." But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from *France* by the queen's hands, the *Dutch* ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court; where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negociation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of *Lorrain's* interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept; the letters sent from the *Dutch* to that court were shewn some months after to a *British* minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur *De Torcy's* insinuations, "That he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it by our refusal." And the violence of The States against our entertaining of that correspondence was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

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mitted to *France*:
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A barrier shall be
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The pretensions of
former treaties,
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In order to make
power in *Italy*, the
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war belonged
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VOL. XVIII.

the queen, sensible of all this, resolved to
 do for her own kingdoms; and having
 more prepared such demands for her prin-
 cipal allies as might be a ground for proceed-
 ing to a general treaty, without pretending to
 consider their several interests; she resolved to
 obtain in a particular manner the advantage
 of *Spain*. The following preliminary de-
 mands were accordingly drawn up, in order to
 be submitted to *France*:

That *Great Britain* will not enter into any ne-
 gotiation of peace, otherwise than upon
 the conditions obtained before-hand:

That the union of the two crowns of
France and *Spain* shall be prevented: That
 satisfaction shall be given to all the allies,
 and trade settled and maintained.

France be disposed to treat upon this
 basis, it is not to be doubted that the fol-
 lowing propositions will be found rea-
 sonable.

A barrier shall be formed in *The Low*
Countries for The States-general; and their
 liberties shall be secured:

A barrier likewise shall be formed for the
 Empire.

The pretensions of all the allies, founded
 upon former treaties, shall be regulated and
 determined to their general satisfaction.

In order to make a more equal balance
 of power in *Italy*, the dominions and terri-
 tories, which in the beginning of the pre-
 sent war belonged to the duke of *Savoy*,
 are now in the possession of *France*,
 shall

“ shall be restored to his royal highness ; and
 “ such other places in *Italy* shall be yielded to
 “ him as will be found necessary and agreeable
 “ to the sense of former treaties made with
 “ this prince.

“ As to *Great Britain* in particular, the
 “ succession to the crown of the kingdoms
 “ according to the present establishment shall
 “ be acknowledged.

“ A new treaty of commerce between *Great*
 “ *Britain* and *France* shall be made, after the
 “ most just and reasonable manner.

“ *Dunkirk* shall be demolished.

“ *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* shall remain in
 “ the hands of the present possessors.

“ The *English* shall have the assiento in the
 “ same manner the *French* now enjoy it ; and
 “ such places in *The Spanish West Indies* shall
 “ be assigned to those concerned in this traf-
 “ fick, for the refreshment and sale of their
 “ Negroes, as shall be found necessary and
 “ convenient.

“ All advantages, rights, and privileges
 “ already granted, and which may hereafter
 “ be granted, by *Spain*, to the subjects of
 “ *France*, or to any other nation whatsoever,
 “ shall be equally granted to the subjects of
 “ *Great Britain*.

“ And, for better securing the *British* trade
 “ in *The Spanish West Indies*, certain places to
 “ be named in the treaty of peace shall be put
 “ into possession of the *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the *Bay* and *Streights*
 “ of *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the
 “ *English* ;

“ *English*; and *Great Britain*
 “ shall keep and possess
 “ all the territories,
 “ which each of the fa-
 “ vorable of at the time
 “ of this treaty shall
 “ possess of the world.

“ These demands, and
 “ between *Great Britain*
 “ kept inviolably secret
 “ by the mutual

“ The last article was
 “ being, if possible, the
 “ to prevent the cla-
 “ at home, who, un-
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 “ make a separate pe-
 “ on the worst defi-
 “ ministry, in order
 “ they had lost.

“ In June, 1711, Mr.
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 “ ceeding in order to
 “ be so agreeable to
 “ tion of *England*;
 “ being desirous to

English; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall generally keep and possess all those countries and territories, in *North America*, which each of the said nations shall be in possession of at the time when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.

These demands, and all other proceedings between *Great Britain* and *France*, shall be kept inviolably secret, until they are published by the mutual consent of both parties."

The last article was not only intended for allaying, if possible, the jealousy of the *Dutch*, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors at home, who, under the pretended fears of doing injustice to the *Dutch*, by acting without the privity of that republick, in order to make a separate peace, would be ready to run on the worst designs against the queen's ministry, in order to recover the power they had lost.

June, 1711, Mr. *Prior*, a person of distinction, not only on account of his talents but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was dispatched thither by her majesty with the foregoing demands. This messenger was received at *Versailles* with great civility. The king declared, "That no proceeding in order to a general treaty would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of *England*; and that his majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his

“ power towards the repose of *Europe*, did
 “ answer to the demands which had been
 “ made :

“ That he would consent freely and sin-
 “ cerely to all just and reasonable methods for
 “ hindering the crowns of *France* and *Spain*
 “ from being ever united under the same
 “ prince; his majesty being persuaded that
 “ such an excess of power would be as con-
 “ trary to the general good and repose of *Eu-*
 “ *rope*, as it was opposite to the will of the
 “ late Catholic king *Charles* the Second.” He
 said, “ His intention was, that all parties in
 “ the present war should find their reasonable
 “ satisfaction in the intended treaty of peace;
 “ and that trade should be settled, and main-
 “ tained for the future, to the advantage of
 “ those nations which formerly possessed it.

“ That, as the king will exactly observe the
 “ conditions of peace, whenever it shall be
 “ concluded; and as the object he proposeth
 “ to himself is, to secure the frontiers of his
 “ own kingdom, without giving any sort of
 “ disturbance to his neighbours; he pro-
 “ miseth to agree that, by the future treaty
 “ of peace, the *Dutch* shall be put into the pos-
 “ session of all fortified places as shall be
 “ specified in the said treaty, to serve for a
 “ barrier to that republick against all attempts
 “ on the side of *France*. He engages like-
 “ wise to give all necessary securities for re-
 “ moving the jealousies raised among the
 “ *German* princes of his majesty's designs.

“ That,

LAST YEARS OF

“ That, when the con-
 “ general treaty shall be
 “ reasons of the sever
 “ engaged in the prefer
 “ and amicably discuss
 “ is omitted, which ma
 “ time them to the satis
 “ That, pursuant to
 “ England, his majesty
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 “ territories which belong
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 “ city is now in possess
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 “ duke and his allies.
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 “ as ours will interf
 “ must absolutely

That, when the conferences in order to a general treaty shall be formed, all the propositions of the several princes and states engaged in the present war shall be fairly and amicably discussed; nor shall any thing be omitted, which may regulate and determine them to the satisfaction of all parties.

That, pursuant to the demands made by *England*, his majesty promises to restore to the duke of *Savoy* those demesnes and territories which belonged to that prince at the beginning of this war, and which his majesty is now in possession of; and the king assents further, that such other places in *Italy* shall be yielded to the duke of *Savoy* as shall be found necessary, according to the sense of those treaties made between the said duke and his allies.

That the king's sentiments of the present government of *Great Britain*, the open declaration he had made in *Holland* of his resolution to treat of peace by applications to the *English*, the assurances he had given of engaging the king of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in their hands (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem for a nation still in war with him), leave no room for doubt of his majesty's inclination to give *England* all securities and advantages for their trade which they can reasonably demand. But, as his majesty cannot persuade himself, that a government so clear-sighted as ours will insist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy the trade of

“*France* and *Spain*, as well as that of all
 “other nations of *Europe*, he thinks the de-
 “mands made by *Great Britain* may require
 “a more parricular discuffion.

“That, upon this foundation, the king
 “thought the best way of advancing and per-
 “fecting a negociation, the beginning of
 “which he had feen with fo much fatisfaction,
 “would be, to fend into *England* a person in-
 “ftructed in his intention, and authorized by
 “him to agree upon fecurities for fettling the
 “trade of the fubjects of *England*, and thofe
 “particular advantages to be ftipulated in
 “their favour, without deftroying the trade
 “of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other
 “nations in *Chriftendom*.

“That therefore his majesty had charged
 “the person chosen for this commiffion to
 “answer the other articles of the memorial
 “given him by Mr. *Prior*, the fecret of which
 “fhould be exactly obferved.”

Monf. *De Torcy* had for fome years paff
 ufed all his endeavours to incline his mafter
 towards a peace, purfuant to the maxim of
 his uncle *Colbert*, “That a long war was not
 “for the intereft of *France*.” It was for this
 reason the king made choice of him in the
 conferences at *The Hague*; the bad fuccefs
 whereof, although it filled him with refent-
 ments againft the *Dutch*, did not alter his
 opinion: but he was violently oppofed by
 a party both in the court and kingdom,
 who pretended to fear he would facrifice the
 glory of the prince and country by too large
 concessions;

concessions; or perhaps v
 the first offers should hav
 the Dutch, as a people
 vicious about the int
 er majesty would ce
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 Mr. Prior's journey
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 and it. He was disco
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 a Dutch Gazettes a
 re full of speculation
 At the same time
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essions; or perhaps would rather wish that
first offers should have been still made to
Dutch, as a people more likely to be less
tous about the interest of *Britain* than
majesty would certainly be for theirs;
the particular design of Mr. *Prior* was,
and out whether that minister had credit
gh with his prince, and a support from
rs in power, sufficient to over-rule the
on against peace.

Mr. *Prior's* journey could not be kept a
et, as the court here at first seemed to in-
it. He was discovered, at his return, by
officer of the port at *Dover*, where he
ed, after six weeks absence; upon which,
Dutch Gazettes and *English* News-papers
e full of speculations.

At the same time with Mr. *Prior* there ar-
d from *France* Mons. *Mesnager*, knight of
order of *St. Michael*, and one of the coun-
of trade to the most Christian king. His
amission was, in general, empowering him
treat with the minister of any prince en-
ged in the war against his master. In his first
ferences with the queen's ministers, he pre-
ded orders to insist that her majesty should
ter upon particular engagements in several
icles, which did not depend upon her, but
ncerned only the interest of the allies reci-
ocally with those of the most Christian king:
hereas the negociation had begun upon this
inciple, That *France* should consent to adjust
e interests of *Great Britain* in the first place,
thereby her majesty would be afterwards

enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen resolved, never to depart from this principle: but was absolutely determined to remit the particular interests of the allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of *Europe*, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was signed: therefore it was not doubted but *Monf. Mesnager* would have orders to waive this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question; since they contained only such advantages and securities as her majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; which *Monf. Mesnager* having transmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the *French* king, were drawn up and signed by *Monf. Mesnager* and her majesty's two principal secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

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LAST YEARS OF

In the preamble, the
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"British ministers del
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"whom so many tie
"to him, and whos
"the tranquillity can
"jesty, moved by
"ordered *Monf. A*
"give the followin
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"mitted to him, i
"mands for Great
"The articles wer
"First, The su
"acknowledged,
"blishment.
"Secondly, A
"between Great
"made, after th
"manner.
"Thirdly, D

in the preamble, the most Christian king
forth, "That, being particularly in-
formed, by the last memorial which the
British ministers delivered to Monsieur *Mef-*
nager, of the dispositions of this crown to
facilitate a general peace, to the satisfaction
of the several parties concerned; and his
majesty finding, in effect, as the said me-
morial declares, that he runs no hazard by
engaging himself in the manner there ex-
pressed, since the preliminary articles will
be of no force until the signing of the ge-
neral peace; and being sincerely desirous to
advance to the utmost of his power the re-
pose of *Europe*, especially by a way so
agreeable as the interposition of a princess
whom so many ties of blood ought to unite
to him, and whose sentiments for the pub-
lic tranquillity cannot be doubted; his ma-
jesty, moved by these considerations, hath
ordered Mons. *Mesnager*, knight, &c. to
give the following answers, in writing, to
the articles contained in the memorial trans-
mitted to him, intituled, *Preliminary De-*
mands for Great Britain in particular."

The articles were these that follow :

"First, The succession to the crown to be
acknowledged, according to the present esta-
blishment.

"Secondly, A new treaty of commerce
between *Great Britain* and *France* to be
made, after the most just and reasonable
manner.

"Thirdly, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

F 5

"Fourthly,

“ Fourthly, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to
 “ continue in the hands of those who now
 “ possess them.

“ Fifthly, The assiento (or liberty of sel-
 “ ling Negroes to *The Spanish West Indies*) to
 “ be granted to the *English*, in as full a man-
 “ ner as the *French* possess it at present; and
 “ such places in the said *West Indies* to be
 “ assigned to the persons concerned in this
 “ trade, for the refreshment and sale of their
 “ Negroes, as shall be found necessary and
 “ convenient.

“ Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges,
 “ and rights, are already, or may hereafter be,
 “ granted by *Spain* to the subjects of *France*,
 “ or any other nation, shall be equally granted
 “ to the subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ Seventhly, For better protecting their
 “ trade in *The Spanish West Indies*, the *English*
 “ shall be put into possession of such places as
 “ shall be named in the treaty of peace; or
 “ as an equivalent for this article, that the
 “ assiento be granted to *Britain* for the term
 “ of thirty years.

“ That the isle of *St. Christopher's* be like-
 “ wise secured to the *English*.

“ That the advantages and exemption from
 “ duties, promised by Monsieur Mesnager,
 “ which he affirms will amount to fifteen per
 “ cent. upon all goods of the growth and
 “ manufacture of *Great Britain*, be effec-
 “ tually allowed.

“ That whereas, on the side of the river of
 “ *Plate*, the *English* are not in possession of
 “ any

any colony, a certain
 “ be allowed them on
 “ holding and keeping
 “ they are sold to the
 “ nevertheless to the ind
 “ pointed by Spain.

“ Eighthly, *Newf*
 “ and *Streights of A*
 “ restored to the *En*
 “ and *France* shall re
 “ dominions in *Nort*
 “ shall be in possession
 “ of this treaty sha
 “ parts of the world
 “ The six first artic
 “ any difficulty; ex
 “ where *France* was
 “ settled in a gener
 “ A difficulty arisi
 “ the proposed equi
 “ thereof.

The last article
 “ treaty of peace;
 “ have the power of
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 “ These articles
 “ conditions which
 “ sented to allow;
 “ should be signed,
 “ the usual form o
 “ of both crowns.

The queen h
 “ security and
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any colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed them on the said river, for refreshing and keeping their Negroes, till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject nevertheless to the inspection of an officer appointed by *Spain*.

“ Eighthly, *Newfoundland* and the Bay and *Streights of Hudson* shall be entirely restored to the *English*; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall respectively keep whatever dominions in *North America* each of them shall be in possession of when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.”

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty; except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

A difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead hereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the *French* insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of *Newfoundland*.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the most Christian king consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms whenever a peace should be made, and upon

terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing in order was, to procure from *France* such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and, having been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made public. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

"The king being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishing of the general peace; his majesty declares,

"1. That he will acknowledge the queen of *Great Britain* in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the settlement.

"2. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, for hindering that the crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his majesty being persuaded that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

"3. The king's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace which shall be made; that commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of *Great Britain*,
" of

LAST YEARS O

"of *Holland*, and of
"have been accustomed
"merit.

"4. As the king
"exactly the observat
"it shall be concluded
"king proposes to hi
"frontiers of his kin
"ing in any manner
"ing states; he pro
"treaty which shall
"shall be put in
"places which shall
"the *Netherlands*, to serve
"which may secure
"the *Republic of Holland* ag
"the part of *France*

"5. The king
"secure and conv
"formed for the E
"of *Austria*.

"6. Notwithstan
"very great sums
"to fortify it; and
"to be at very con
"the works; his
"to engage to ca
"immediately af
"peace, on condi
"tions of that pla
"may content h
"England cannot
"discussion of it
"ferences to be
"the peace.

of *Holland*, and of the other nations who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

“ 4. As the king will likewise maintain exactly the observation of the peace when it shall be concluded; and the object the king proposes to himself being to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring states; he promises to agree, by the treaty which shall be made, that the *Dutch* shall be put in possession of the fortified places which shall be mentioned in *The Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a barrier, which may secure the quiet of the republic of *Holland* against any enterprize from the part of *France*.

“ 5. The king consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the Empire, and for the house of *Austria*.

“ 6. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the king very great sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify it; and that it is further necessary to be at very considerable expence for razing the works; his majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolished immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent, that may content him, be given him: and as *England* cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be referred to the conferences to be held for the negociation of the peace.

“ 7. When

“ 7. When the conferences for the nego-
 “ ciation of the peace shall be formed, all the
 “ pretensions of the princes and states en-
 “ gaged in the present war shall be therein
 “ discussed *bonâ fide* and amicably: and no-
 “ thing shall be omitted, to regulate and ter-
 “ minate them to the satisfaction of all the
 “ parties.

“ MESNAGER.”

“ These overtures are founded upon the eighth
 article of the grand alliance made in 1701,
 wherein are contained the conditions without
 which a peace is not to be made; and whoever
 compares both, will find the preliminaries to
 reach every point proposed in that article,
 which those who censured them at home, if
 they spoke their thoughts, did not understand:
 for nothing can be plainer than what the pub-
 lick hath often been told, “ That the recovery
 “ of *Spain* from the house of *Bourbon* was a
 “ thing never imagined when the war began,
 “ but a just and reasonable satisfaction to the
 “ emperor.” Much less ought such a condi-
 tion to be held necessary at present, not only
 because it is allowed on all hands to be im-
 practicable; but likewise because, by the
 changes in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* families, it
 would not be safe: neither did those who were
 loudest in blaming the *French* preliminaries
 know any thing of the advantages privately sti-
 pulated for *Britain*, whose interests, they as-
 sured us, were all made a sacrifice to the cor-
 ruption or folly of the managers; and there-
 fore,

LAST YEARS OF
 for, because the opposi-
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 naged the ministers f-
 The lord Raby, her
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, because the opposers of peace have been
er informed by what they have since heard
seen, they have changed their battery, and
used the ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

The lord *Raby*, her majesty's ambassador at
Hague, having made a short journey to
land, where he was created earl of *Straf-*
ford, went back to *Holland* about the begin-
g of *October*, 1711, with the above preli-
minaries, in order to communicate them to the
monarch and other ministers of *The States*.
The earl was instructed to let them know,
that the queen had, according to their de-
sire, returned an answer to the first proposi-
tions signed by *Monf. Torcy*, signifying,
that the *French* offers were thought, both
by her majesty and *The States*, neither so
particular nor so full as they ought to be;
and insisting to have a distinct project
formed, of such a peace as the most Chris-
tian king would be willing to conclude:
That, this affair having been for some time
transacted by papers, and thereby subject to
delays, *Monf. Mesnager* was at length sent
over by *France*, and had signed those pre-
liminaries now communicated to them:
That the several articles did not, indeed,
contain such particular concessions as *France*
must and will make in the course of a
treaty; but that, however, her majesty
thought them a sufficient foundation where-
on to open the general conferences.

“ That her majesty was unwilling to be
charged with determining the several inte-
rests

“ rests of her allies, and therefore contented
 “ herself with such general offers as might
 “ include all the particular demands proper to
 “ be made during the treaty; where the con-
 “ federates must resolve to adhere firmly toge-
 “ ther, in order to obtain from the enemy the
 “ utmost that could be hoped for in the pre-
 “ sent circumstances of affairs; which rule,
 “ her majesty assured The States, she would,
 “ on her part, firmly observe.”

If the ministers of *Holland* should express
 any uneasiness, that her majesty may have
 “ settled the interests of her own kingdoms, in
 a future peace, by any private agreement; the
 ambassador was ordered to say, “ That the
 “ queen had hitherto refused to have the treaty
 “ carried on in her own kingdom, and would
 “ continue to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*)
 “ constrained her to take another measure:
 “ That by these means The States and the
 “ rest of the allies would have the oppor-
 “ tunity of treating and adjusting their dif-
 “ ferent pretensions; which her majesty would
 “ promote with all the zeal she had shewn for
 “ the common good, and the particular ad-
 “ vantage of that republick (as they must do
 “ her the justice to confess), in the whole
 “ course of her reign: That the queen had
 “ made no stipulation for herself, which might
 “ clash with the interests of *Holland*: And,
 “ that the articles to be inserted in a future
 “ treaty, for the benefit of *Britain*, were, for
 “ the most part, such as contained advantages,
 “ which must either be continued to the enemy,
 “ or

LAST YEARS OF
 “ or be obtained by her
 “ ever, that no concessi-
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be obtained by her majesty; but, however, that no concession should tempt her toarken to a peace, unless her good friends and allies The States General had all reasonable satisfaction as to their trade and barrier, as well as in all other respects."

After these assurances given in the queen's ear, the earl was to insinuate, "That her majesty should have just reason to be offended, and to think the proceeding between her and The States very unequal, if they should pretend to have any further uneasiness upon his head: That, being determined to accept of advantages to herself repugnant to their interests, nor any peace without their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had made during the whole course of the war, and the part she had acted superior to any of the allies who were more concerned in danger and interest, might justly entitle her to settle the concerns of *Great Britain*, before she could consent to a general negociation."

The States should object the engagements the queen was under by treaties, of making peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty; the ambassador was to answer, "That, as to the former, her majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: That she was so far from making a peace without their consent, as to declare her firm resolution not to make without their satisfaction; and that what had passed between *France* and her amounted to no more than an introduction to a
"general

“ general treaty.” As to the latter, the earl had orders to represent very earnestly, “ How much it was even for the interest of *Holland* itself, rather to compound the advantage of the Barrier-treaty, than to insist upon the whole, which the house of *Austria* and several other allies would never consent to : That nothing could be more odious to the people of *England* than many parts of this treaty ; which would have raised universal indignation, if the utmost care had not been taken to quiet the minds of those who were acquainted with the terms of that guaranty, and to conceal them from those who were not : That it was absolutely necessary to maintain a good harmony between both nations, without which it would be impossible at any time to form a strength for reducing an exorbitant power, or preserving the balance of *Europe* : from whence it followed, that it could not be the true interest of either country to insist upon any conditions which might give just apprehension to the other.

“ That *France* had proposed *Utrecht, Nime-*
 “ *guen, Aix, or Liege*, wherein to hold the
 “ general treaty; and her majesty was ready
 “ to send her plenipotentiaries to whichever of
 “ those towns The States should approve.”

If the Imperial ministers, or those of the other allies, should object against the preliminaries as no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that *France* should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of

LAST YEARS OF

of the allies in the year
1793 was, in answer
to her, "That the *French*
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That, if the minister should urge the queen insisted, with her in war desiring nothing they ought to pursue absolutely necessary: she had done, and the utmost in her such a peace as of all her allies.

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 91

her allies in the year 1709; the earl of *Ford* was, in answer, directed to insist, "That the *French* might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly, had they not perceived uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy among the allies, during our transactions with that court." However, he should deliver to them, in the queen's name, "That, they were determined to accept of peace on no terms inferior to what was formerly demanded, her majesty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear those disproportions of expence yearly increased upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: that it was therefore incumbent upon them to furnish, for the future, such quotas of ships and forces as they were now wanting, and to increase their expence, while her majesty reduced hers to a reasonable and just proportion."

That, if the ministers of *Vienna* and *Holland* should urge their inability upon this head, the queen insisted, "They ought to comply with her in war or in peace; her majesty desiring nothing as to the first, but what they ought to perform, and what is absolutely necessary: and as to the latter, that she had done, and would continue to do, the utmost in her power towards obtaining such a peace as might be to the satisfaction of all her allies."

Some

Some days after the earl of *Strafford's* departure to *Holland*, *Monf. Buys*, pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence, with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them as prejudicial. He said, "The *French* promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *retablir*, to signify no more than restoring the trade of The States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That, in the article of *Dunkirk*, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned; and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occasion a difference between her majesty and The States; since *Holland* would think it hard to have a town less in their barrier for the demolition of *Dunkirk*; and *England* would complain, to have this thorn continue in their side, for the sake of giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Lastly, he objected, "That, where the *French* promised effectual methods should be taken to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under the same king, they offered

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ing at all for the cession of *Spain*, which was the most important point of the

For these reasons, *Monf. Buys* hoped her majesty would alter her measures, and demand specific articles, upon which the allies might debate whether they would consent to negociation or no."

The queen, who looked upon all these difficulties raised about the method of treating as favours to wrest the negociation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to know, "That the experience she formerly had, of proceeding by particular preliminaries towards a general treaty, gave her no encouragement to repeat the same method any more: That such a preliminary treaty must be negociated either by some particular allies, or by all; the first her majesty could never suffer, since she would neither take upon her to settle the interests of others, nor submit that others should settle those of her own kingdoms; as to the second, it was liable to *Monf. Buys's* objection, because the ministers of *France* would have as fair an opportunity of sowing division among the allies, when they were all assembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when the conferences were open for a negociation of peace: That this method could therefore have no other effect than to delay the treaty, without any advantage: That her majesty was heartily dissatisfied, both then and during the negociation,

" to

“ to insist on every thing necessary for securing
 “ the barrier and commerce of The States;
 “ and therefore hoped the conferences might
 “ be opened, without farther difficulties.

“ That her majesty did not only consent,
 “ but desire, to have a plan settled for carry-
 “ ing on the war, as soon as the negociation
 “ of peace should begin; but expected to have
 “ the burden more equally laid, and more
 “ agreeable to treaties: and would join with
 “ The States in pressing the allies to perform
 “ their parts, as she had endeavoured to ani-
 “ mate them by her example.”

Monf. *Buy*s seemed to know little of his
 masters' mind, and pretended he had no power
 to conclude upon any thing. Her majesty's
 minister proposed to him an alliance between
 the two nations, to subsist after a peace. To
 this he hearkened very readily; and offered to
 take the matter *ad referendum*, having autho-
 rity to do no more. His intention was, that
 he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain
 time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret
 of the transactions between *Britain* and *France*;
 to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his mas-
 ters to any conditions: to seek delays till the
 parliament met, and then observe what turn it
 took, and what would be the issue of those
 frequent cabals between himself and some other
 foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief
 leaders of the discontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours raised
 against the proceedings of the queen's ministers
 towards a peace would make the parliament
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approve what had been done; whereby The
 ites would be at the head of the negociation,
 which the queen did not think fit to have any
 ore in their hands, where it had miscarried
 ice already; although prince *Eugene* him-
 f owned, "That *France* was then disposed
 to conclude a peace upon such conditions,
 that it was not worth the life of a grenadier
 to refuse them." As to insisting upon spe-
 ic preliminaries, her majesty thought her
 own method much better, "for each ally, in
 the course of the negociation, to advance
 and manage his own pretensions, wherein
 she would support and assist them:" rather
 an for two ministers of one ally to treat
 solely with the enemy, and report what they
 eased to the rest, as was practised by the
Dutch at *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of *Monf. Buys's* instructions was,
 to desire the queen not to be so far amused by a
 treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation
 for war against the next campaign. Her ma-
 jesty, who was firmly resolved against sub-
 mitting any longer to that unequal burthen of
 expence she had hitherto lain under, com-
 manded *Mr. secretary St. John* to debate the
 matter with that minister; who said, "He
 had no power to treat;" only insisted, "That
 his masters had fully done their part; and
 that nothing but exhortations could be used,
 to prevail on the other allies to act with
 greater vigour."

On the other side, the queen refused to con-
 cert any plan for the prosecution of the war,
 till

till The States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which, therefore, by *Monf. Buys's* application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in *Holland* upon the 21st of *November, 1711, N. S.*

About this time the count *De Gallas* was forbid the court, by order from the queen; who sent him word, "That she looked upon him no longer as a public minister."

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of king of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *August, 1711*, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Franckfort*, where the earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last emperor's secretary at *Franckfort* of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that *Gallas* had, in his dispatches to the present emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: "That, when her majesty had dismissed the earl of *Sunderland*, she promised to proceed no farther in the change of her servants; yet soon after

after turned them all out of the public credit, as we see. That the present minister had good dispositions, and good dispositions, persons of ill designs, non cause; and he (them." In his letter said, "That Mr. so joined of the house, only to make the England, and the peace, although prevent which, could which he intended transmitted a draught of his advice and approval, among other great continuance of the giving a good body serve in Italy or Spain fit.

Zinzendorf thought without consulting Gallas replied, "That engage the queen That Zinzendorf English and Dutch troops from Hungary ought to be promoted two nations; as might be found to in the mean time gained, of bringing for continuing

er turned them all out, and thereby ruined public credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*: that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause; and he (*Gallas*) could not trust them." In his letters to count *Zinzendorf*, he said, "That Mr. secretary *St. John* combined of the house of *Austria's* backwardness, only to make the king of *Spain* odious to *England*, and the people here desirous of peace, although it were ever so bad;" To prevent which, count *Gallas* drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and transmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his advice and approbation. This memorial among other great promises, to encourage continuance of the war, proposed the sending a good body of troops from *Hungary*, to serve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step, without consulting the emperor: to which *Gallas* replied, "That his design was only to engage the queen to go on with the war: That *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations; after which, several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained, of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the war: That the emperor

G " might

“ might afterwards excuse himself, by the
 “ apprehension of a war in *Hungary*, or of
 “ that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites* :
 “ That, if these excuses should be at an end,
 “ a detachment of one or two regiments might
 “ be sent, and the rest deferred by pretending
 “ want of money ; by which the queen would
 “ probably be brought to maintain some part
 “ of those troops, and perhaps the whole
 “ body.” He added, “ That this way of
 “ management was very common among the
 “ allies ;” and gave for an example, the forces
 which the *Dutch* had promised for the service
 of *Spain*, but were never sent ; with several
 other instances of the same kind, which, he
 said, might be produced.

Her majesty, who had long suspected that
 count *Gallas* was engaged in these and the like
 practices, having at last received authentic proofs
 of this whole intrigue, from original letters,
 and the voluntary confession of those who were
 principally concerned in carrying it on, thought
 it necessary to shew her resentment, by refusing
 the count any more access to her person or her
 court.

Although the queen, as it hath been already
 observed, was resolved to open the conferences
 upon the general preliminaries ; yet she thought
 it would very much forward the peace, to know
 what were the utmost concessions which *France*
 would make to the several allies, but especially
 to The States General and the duke of *Savoy*.
 Therefore, while her majesty was pressing the
 former to agree to a general treaty, the abbé

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altier was sent to *France*, with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian king would oblige himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose satisfaction the queen had most at heart, as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near what her majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interest *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for those of the duke of *Savoy*. However, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majesty and that republick:

“ That the congress should be held at *Utrecht*.

“ That the opening of the congress should be upon the 12th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

“ That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ceremony, the ministers of the queen and States, during the treaty, should only have the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambassadors till the day on which the peace should be signed.

“ Lastly, The queen and States insisted, that
 “ the ministers of the duke of *Anjou* and the
 “ late electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* should
 “ not appear at the congress until the points
 “ relating to their masters were adjusted;
 “ and were firmly resolved not to send their
 “ passports for the ministers of *France*, till
 “ the most Christian king declared, that the
 “ absence of the forementioned ministers
 “ should not delay the progress of the nego-
 “ ciation.”

Pursuant to the three former articles, her
 majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies
 engaged with her in the present war; and
France had notice, “ That, as soon as the king
 “ declared his compliance with the last article,
 “ the blank passports should be filled up with
 “ the names of the mareschal *D’Uxelles*, the
 “ abbé *De Polignac*, and *Monf. Mesnager*,
 “ who were appointed plenipotentiaries for
 “ that crown.”

From what I have hitherto deduced, the
 reader sees the plan which the queen thought
 the most effectual for advancing a peace. As
 the conferences were to begin upon the general
 preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered
 by *France* to offer separately to the allies what
 might be reasonable for each to accept: and
 her own interests being previously settled, she
 was to act as a general mediator; a figure that
 became her best, from the part she had in the
 war, and more useful to the great end at
 which she aimed, of giving a safe and ho-
 nourable peace to *Europe*.

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Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of *Britain*, that the queen should be the head of the negociation; without which, her majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with The States, the ministers here had a conference with Monsr. *Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "How necessary it was, by a previous concert between the emperor, the queen, and The States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty at *Utrecht*: That, under pretence of a barrier for The States General, as their security against *France*, infinite prejudice might arise to the trade of *Britain* in *The Spanish Netherlands*; for, by the fifteenth article of the Barrier-treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by that of *Munster*, the queen was brought to engage that commerce shall not be rendered more easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of *Flanders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*, and by the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces; which, as things now stood, was very unjust; for, while the towns in *Flanders* were in the hands of *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we traded to them upon equal foot; but now, since by the Barrier-treaty those towns were to be possessed by The States, that republick might lay what duties they pleased upon *British* goods, after passing by *Ostend*, and make their own custom-free, which

"could utterly ruin our whole trade with
landers."

Upon this, the lords told M. Buys very
frankly, "That, if The States expected the
queen should support their barrier, as their
demands from *France* and the house of
Austria upon that head, they ought to agree
that the subjects of *Britain* should trade as
freely to all the countries and places which,
by virtue of any former or future treaty,
were to become the barrier of The States,
as they did in the time of the late king
Charles the Second of *Spain*, or as the sub-
jects of The States General themselves shall
do: and that it was hoped, their high-
mightinesses would never scruple to rectify
a mistake so injurious to that nation, with-
out whose blood and treasure they would
have had no barrier at all." Monf. Buys
had nothing to answer against these objections;
but said, "He had already wrote to his mas-
ters, for further instructions."

Greater difficulties occurred about settling
what should be the barrier to The States after
a peace: the envoy insisting to have all the
towns that were named in the treaty of barrier
and succession; and the queen's ministers ex-
cepting those towns which, if they continued
in the hands of the *Dutch*, would render the
trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* precarious. At
length it was agreed in general, that The
States ought to have what is really essential to
the security of their barrier against *France*;
and that some amicable expedient should be
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d, for removing the fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But at the same time Monsr. *Buys* was told, that although the queen would certainly consent to obtain all those points from *France*, on behalf of her allies *The States*; yet she hoped his masters were too reasonable to break off the treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmost of their demands, which could not be settled here, unless he were fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that subject: That her majesty thought the best way of securing the common interest, and preventing the division of the allies, by the artifices of *France*, in the course of a long negociation, would be, to concert between the queen's ministers and those of *The States*, with a due regard to the other confederates, such a plan as might amount to a safe and honourable peace. After which, the abbé *Polignac*, who of the *French* plenipotentiaries was most in the secret of his court, might be told, that it was in vain to amuse each other any longer; that on such terms the peace would be immediately concluded; and that the conferences must cease, if those conditions were not, without delay, and with expedition, granted."

A treaty between her majesty and *The States*, to subsist after a peace, was now signed, Monsr. *Buys* having received full powers to that purpose. His masters were desirous to have a private article added, *sub spe rati*, concerning those terms of peace; without the granting

granting of which, we should stipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into such an engagement. The congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a point of so great importance. Neither, lastly, would her majesty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous satisfaction upon several articles in the Barrier-treaty, so inconsistent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy seal and the earl of *Strafford* having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace; I shall here break off the account of any further progress made in that great affair, until I resume it in the last book of this History.

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BOOK III.

THE house of commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly not only into abuses relating to the accounts of the year, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with

with the forces of her allies in *The Low Countries*, might be laid before the house. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no "foot-steps could be found of any treaty or "convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quotas, so much to the disadvantage of her majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated, by the grand alliance between the emperor, *Britain*, and *The States*, "That those three powers should assist "each other with their whole force; and that "the several proportions should be specified "in a particular convention." But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the burthen upon themselves, which the late king *William* communicated to the house of commons by his secretary of state; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accompts of the kingdom had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army; which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr.

*Mr. Robert Walpole**, altho' his being secretary of state for the hundred guineas, and the hundred pounds more for contracts for forage contracted in Scotland. This was the first contract; the second. The third was scandalous to the author of it, and notorious to the public, and notorious to the prisoner to the end of the house. He was opposed by the opposers; having been opposed by his indifference towards kept steady bold, forward courage to that infirmity, joined to a man, hath justly made of his faction, the second form. The third being so particular otherwise altogether. Another part of the estate of Marlborough, of money, by the whole who were the army with bread a letter to the common Lord Chesterfield, a great man, vol. 1. p.

Robert Walpole ^u, already mentioned; who, by his being secretary at war, had received hundred guineas, and taken a note for hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops ordered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had nothing to say for the second. The first appeared so plain and scandalous to the commons, that they made the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed himself prisoner to The Tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled from the house. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the queen and ministry; having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men cautious, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, hath justly entitled him, among the rest of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the case of *Marlborough*, who had received large sums of money, by way of gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing an army with bread. This the duke excused, by a letter to the commissioners, from the like case. Lord *Chesterfield* characteristically describes this great man, vol. I. p. 384. vol. IV. p. 304. N. practice

practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And, as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate; so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her majesty's forces in *Flanders* were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of *Europe*: It was found that the queen's general subtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The duke of *Marlborough*, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the
 " foreign troops, which he had negotiated
 " with them by the late king's orders, and had
 " obtained the queen's warrant for reserving
 " and receiving it: That it was intended for
 " secret service, the ten thousand pounds a
 " year given by parliament not proving sufficient; and had all been laid out that way." The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for
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years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the secretary of state's books, and the deduction of it concealed all that time from the knowledge of parliament: That, if it had been a free gift from the foreign troops, it could not have been stipulated by agreement, as the duke's letter confessed, and as the warrant declared, which latter affirmed the stoppage to be intended for defraying extraordinary contingent expences of the troops; and therefore should not have been applied to secret services." They submitted to the house, whether the warrant itself were or duly countersigned. The committee added, "That no receipt was ever given for this deducted money; nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the foreign troops, which were always taken in full. And lastly, That the whole sum, on computation, amounted to near three hundred thousand pounds.

The house, after a long debate, resolved, that the taking several sums from the contributors for bread by the duke of *Marlborough*, was unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two and a half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign troops was public money, and ought to be accounted for;" which resolutions were laid before the queen the whole house, and her majesty promised to her part in redressing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, at the beginning of the war, by their intimacy with the queen, procured a warrant

VOL. XVIII. H from

from her majesty, for this perquisite of two and a half *per cent*. The warrant was directed to the duke of *Marlborough*, and counter-signed by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then secretary of state; by virtue of which, the pay-master-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them by those whom they represented; and left the rest to her majesty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the duke, for the subtracted money; which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted; or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanor of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no further punishment for

in practice voted to corrupt.

These were all the ceremonies which the commons, with business, thought reports of their committee public accounts.

the beginning of this state of the nation; by what negligence began, and in proportion to the prodigious increase of the public debts, which have been taken up by the administration, to find many unprovided for.

a stop to new ones, and to the reader upon the subject of the country, it appears that the public debts, secured by interest, were before the rebellion the money of particular called the public faith.

at periods, and they could pay at once of our kings peace and war, and their oppressions on and for borrowing: but nation I doubt, would

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. III

practice voted to be unwarrantable and
pt. these were all the censures of any moment
in the commons, under so great a weight
of business, thought fit to make, upon the
acts of their commissioners for inspecting
public accompts. But having promised,
at the beginning of this History, to examine
the state of the nation, with respect to its
debts; by what negligence or corruption they
began, and in process of time made such
prodigious increase; and, lastly, what
remedies have been taken, under the present
administration, to find out funds for answering
many unprovided incumbrances, as well as
to stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to
instruct the reader upon this important article.
By all I have yet read of the history of our
country, it appears to me, that the na-
tional debts, secured upon parliamentary
bills of interest, were things unknown in
England before the last revolution under the
reign of *Orange*. It is true, that in the
late rebellion the king's enemies borrowed
money of particular persons, upon what they
rested the public faith; but this was only for
short periods, and the sums no more than what
they could pay at once, as they constantly did.
None of our kings have been very profuse in
peace and war, and are blamed in history for
their oppressions of the people by severe taxes,
and for borrowing money which they never
repaid: but *national debts* was a style, which,
at that time, would hardly then be understood.

When the prince of *Orange* was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of *Europe*, the king and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the first actions of the new government was, to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to support the war (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present bishop of *Salisbury* * is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government would, by surest principle, be obliged to sup-

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

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it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to those taxes laid on their lands, which from hath since made so familiar: and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the policy of the kingdom did not very much resist those new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give much way. Neither, perhaps, did that age think national incumbrances to be evil at all; since the flourishing republic where he was born is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Monsi-
s the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, "That it was for the interest of the publick to be in debt;" which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about. But to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth arises from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons,

were taken indigested from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted that monied men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent took away as much power from the landed men as it added to theirs: so that, the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able, in
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, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at such a height, that a very few years more war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing on funds was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as their friends and dependants; for, funds being often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the deficiency; which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchants phrase) at above forty *per cent.* discount. At this price, those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament; by which they doubled their principal in a few months: and, by the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some further advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the queen, the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great

part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: so that the late ministry raised all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to; and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interest due upon those sums; for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years; till at last the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest; and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But, to avoid mistakes, upon a subject where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by a gentleman [Sir J. Blunt y], who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs:

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y Sir John Blunt, originally a scrivener, was one of the first projectors of the South-sea company, and afterwards

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“ In the year 1707, the sum of eight hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, fifteen shillings, and six pence, was raised, by continuing part of the general mortgage from 1710 to 1712; but with no provision of interest till *August* the first, 1710, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

“ In 1708, the same funds were continued from 1712 to 1714, to raise seven hundred twenty-nine thousand sixty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings, and six pence; but no provision for interest till *August* the first, 1712, otherwise than, as before, by striking tallies for it on the same fund, payable after all the rest of the money borrowed. And the discount of tallies then beginning to rise, great part of that money remains still unraised; and there is nothing to pay interest for the money lent, till *August* the first, 1712. But the late lord treasurer struck tallies for the full sum directed by the act to be borrowed; great part of which have been delivered in payment to the navy and victualing-offices; and some are still in the hands of the government.

“ In 1709, part of the same fund was continued, from *August* the first, 1714, to *August* the first, 1716, to raise six hundred forty-five thousand pounds; and no provision for interest till *August* the first, 1714 (which was afterwards one of the directors and chief managers of the famous scheme in 1720. See notes on *Pope*, *Moral Essays*, Ep. iii. ver. 133. N.

“ about five years), but by borrowing money
 “ on the same fund, payable after the sums
 “ before lent; so that little of that money
 “ was lent. But the tallies were struck for
 “ what was unlent; some of which were given
 “ out for the payment of the navy and vic-
 “ tualing; and some still remain in the hands
 “ of the government.

“ In 1710, the sums which were before
 “ given from 1714 to 1716 were continued
 “ from thence to 1720, to raise one million
 “ two hundred ninety-six thousand five hun-
 “ dred and fifty-two pounds, nine shillings,
 “ and eleven pence three farthings; and no
 “ immediate provision for interest till *August*
 “ the first, 1716: only, after the duty of one
 “ shilling *per* bushel on salt should be cleared
 “ from the money it was then charged with,
 “ and which was not so cleared till *Mid-*
 “ *summer* 1712 last; then that fund was to
 “ be applied to pay the interest till *August* the
 “ first, 1716; which interest amounted to
 “ about seventy-seven thousand seven hundred
 “ and ninety-three pounds *per annum*: and
 “ the said salt fund produceth but about fifty-
 “ five thousand pounds *per annum*: so that
 “ no money was borrowed upon the general
 “ mortgage in 1710, except one hundred and
 “ fifty thousand pounds lent by the *Swiss*
 “ Cantons; but tallies were struck for the
 “ whole sum. These all remained in the
 “ late treasurer's hands at the time of his re-
 “ moval; yet the money was expended, which
 “ occasioned those great demands upon the
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ommissioners of the treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn those allies to The Bank, or to remitters, rather than sell them at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* discount, as the price then was. About two hundred thousand pounds of them they paid to clothiers of the army, and others; and all the rest, being above ninety thousand pounds, have been subscribed into The *South-sea* Company, for the use of the publick."

When the earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of ----- millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament-security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair, at the bottom of this inaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means navy-bills grew to be forty *per cent.* discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of stores, bought by the navy and victualing-offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more: so that the publick hath directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of *Godolphin* from

his office, and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed: which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he hath once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, "That a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast." That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politicks, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which

which I altogether remember to have heard of in other man's character, and indifference with which he be never the strongest probability against him; so that suspected by his months, in points to a degree that with him, and only accident. His dealings with cunning, are character; for, in word, and as it is no man to whom to let justice apply while he hath been demonstrate; very principles of cunning employed in serving ends, and supplying shifts and expedients out of the hands upon such designs the ruin of the means for paying the nation hath been a better manner enemy offer and deliver up his kingdom the opposition by parties and

which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs while he hath been at the helm doth clearly demonstrate; very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortresses of his kingdom as a security; and this against all the opposition mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies: such performances can
only

only be called cunning by those, whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but *appears* to be so too; which I number amongst his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance: and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to answer, "That he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loseth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature hath her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for

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z It has been
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half the clamour raised against him upon
 article : his endeavours are wholly turned
 on the general welfare of his country, but
 haps with too little regard to that of par-
 ticular persons ; which renders him less ami-
 able than he would otherwise have been, from
 the goodness of his humour, and agreeable
 conversation in a private capacity, and with
 his dependers. Yet some allowance may
 perhaps be given to this failing, which is one
 of the greatest he hath ; since he cannot be
 more careless of other mens fortunes than he
 is of his own. He is master of a very great
 and faithful memory ; which is of mighty use
 in the management of public affairs : and I
 believe there are few examples to be produced,
 at any age, of a person who hath passed
 through so many employments in the state,
 and endowed with a great share both of divine and
 human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as
 those at home who live too remote from the
 scene of business to be rightly informed, will
 not be displeased with this account of a per-
 son, who, in the space of two years, hath been
 so highly instrumental in changing the face of
 affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of
 his own prince and country ^z.

In

^z It has been in general the fate of this great man
 either to have been extolled to an extravagant degree,
 or to have been as signally traduced. The duchess of
Marlborough's character of him (*Account, &c.* p. 261)
 is a master-piece. In *A Letter to Robert Walpole Esq.*

1716,

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer-bills, which, to the great discouragement of publick credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of *England* should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost; to which the earl

1716, he is represented as “deserving of an impeachment, for his scandalous neglect in the office of lord treasurer; which he never thought fit to execute but in a hurry, or when he was drunk, seldom attending his duty above an hour in a day, which was always the *most* unseasonable he could choose: and that he dishonoured the trust her majesty had reposed in him, and gratified a crooked, perverse, and villainous temper, in obstructing justice he knew not how to distribute, and in oppressing those he ought to have relieved.” This is evidently the colouring of Party. Dr. *Swift*, who pretends not that his lordship was faultless, exhibits a very different likeness. Let Candour decide the justness of the resemblance! N.

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of corruption^b.

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^a Mr. Pope, in
has celebrated this
“Who would not
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“All Europe sav
^b The words
hand-writing.

Godolphin^a had given too much way; *possibly by neglect, for I think he cannot be accused of corruption*^b.

But the new treasurer's chief concern was, to restore the credit of the nation, by finding a settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and, having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualing, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found that a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this; which, being applied to other uses, would not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a further advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a

^a Mr. Pope, in his *Moral Essays*, Ep. I. ver. 81. has celebrated this lord's integrity:

Who would not praise PATRICIO's high desert,
His hand unstain'd, his uncorrupted heart,
His comprehensive head! all interests weigh'd,
All Europe sav'd, yet Britain not betray'd." N.

^b The words in *Italic* were added, in Dr. Swift's hand-writing.

company

company for trading to *The South-Seas*, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgement and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars; which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident: the chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the *fieur de Guiscard*, a *French* papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that, after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament^c.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt, under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were many of them prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to *The*

^c See the particular account in *The Examiner*, vol. VIII. p. 176, of this collection.

Spanish West-Indies,
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bill passed; and, as an
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minist West-Indies, had been one principal we aimed at by this war. However, the passed; and, as an immediate consequence, navy bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by parliamentary lotteries which have been erected. The last of that kind under former ministry was eleven weeks in being; whereas the first under the present is filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others which followed were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And, to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, by suspending payments where they seemed to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualing-office on the 9th of *August*, 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent effectual measures have since been taken, to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new.

new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accompts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in that parliament during this session.

Upon the 18th of *January*, the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the *Hanover* family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of *Henry VIII*, which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children, of the crown; by virtue of which, the princess *Sophia* is a princess of the blood, as niece to king *Charles I.* of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her majesty to the house of lords; which the commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation with respect to foreign alliances.

Some

Some discourses had been made about the beginning of the year, complaining of certain measures, concluded by the lord viscount of Great-Britain and Treasurer, in many respects, of the power of the crown, diminishing their quality, by the same means, by the same hardships put upon the countenanced and here at home, in power, which maintained than well as by her upon account of and grandeur." spreading themselves, delivered in and thought, weakly confuted, minds of the people, sent into every town and country, writing and prepared to be of the war continued, it was necessary, brought to a motion. The States in parliament had done plain and corrected, which we

the discourses had been published in print, at the beginning of the session, boldly explaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since the lord viscount *Townshend*, between Great-Britain and The States General; and saying, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted, by the same writers, "That these hardships put upon *England* had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war; as well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations reading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that The States in particular, for whom her majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and,

 in

in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies, during the present war, for the raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the queen's directions, lain before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, "That whatever had been charged, by public discourses in print, against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth." Upon these resolutions (by one of which the lord viscount *Townshend*, who negociated and signed the Barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom), and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and, soon after, the commons in a body presented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir *Thomas Haumer's* pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake

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 "of this session &

ertake to write the history of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity-sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet, this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not well be omitted c:

“ Most gracious sovereign,
 “ We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of *Great-Britain* in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart as to enable your majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual manner be carried on, by the united force of the whole confederacy: We have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire

c Those who doubt the Dean’s exactness in transcribing this Representation may consult the printed Journals, vol. XVII. p. 119. The whole business of this session deserves particular attention. N.

“ into

“ into the true state of the war in all its parts :
 “ We have examined what stipulations have
 “ been entered into between your majesty and
 “ your allies ; and how far such engagements
 “ have, on each side, been made good : We
 “ have considered the different interests which
 “ the confederates have in the success of this
 “ war ; and the different shares they have con-
 “ tributed to its support : We have with our
 “ utmost care and diligence endeavoured to
 “ discover the nature, extent, and charge of
 “ it ; to the end that, by comparing the
 “ weight thereof with our own strength, we
 “ might adapt the one to the other in such
 “ measure, as neither to continue your ma-
 “ jesty’s subjects under a heavier burthen than
 “ in reason and justice they ought to bear ;
 “ nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and
 “ ourselves, by undertaking more than the
 “ nation in its present circumstances is able to
 “ perform.

“ Your majesty has been graciously pleased,
 “ upon our humble applications, to order such
 “ materials to be laid before us, as have fur-
 “ nished us with the necessary information
 “ upon the particulars we have inquired into ;
 “ and when we shall have laid before your
 “ majesty our observations and humble ad-
 “ vice upon this subject, we promise to our-
 “ selves this happy fruit from it, that, if
 “ your majesty’s generous and good purposes
 “ for the procuring a safe and lasting peace
 “ should, though the obstinacy of the enemy,
 “ or by any other means, be unhappily de-
 “ feated,

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ated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

‘ In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war; and beg leave to observe the motives and reasons upon which his late majesty king *William* engaged first in it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be, for the supporting the pretensions of his Imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the *French* king, who had usurped the entire *Spanish* monarchy for his grandson the duke of *Anjou*; and for the assisting The States General, who, by the loss of their barrier against *France*, were then in the same or a more dangerous condition than if they were actually invaded. As these were the just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honourable; for, as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been, *the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his Imperial majesty, and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce, of the king of Great Britain and The States General; and the making effectual provision, that the two kingdoms of France and Spain*
“ *should*

“ *should never be united under the same go-*
 “ *vernment*; and particularly, that the *French*
 “ *should never get into the possession of The*
 “ *Spanish West-Indies*, or be permitted to sail
 “ *thither*, upon the account of traffick, or
 “ *under any pretence whatsoever*; and lastly,
 “ *the securing to the subjects of the king of*
 “ *Great-Britain and The States General all*
 “ *the same privileges and rights of commerce,*
 “ *throughout the whole dominions of Spain,*
 “ *as they enjoyed before the death of Charles*
 “ *II, king of Spain*, by virtue of any treaty,
 “ *agreement, or custom, or any other way what-*
 “ *soever*. For the obtaining these ends, the
 “ *three confederated powers engaged to assist*
 “ *one another with their whole force, accord-*
 “ *ing to such proportions as should be speci-*
 “ *fied in a particular convention afterwards to*
 “ *be made for that purpose*. We do not find
 “ *that any such convention was ever ratified*;
 “ *but it appears, that there was an agreement*
 “ *concluded, which, by common consent, was*
 “ *understood to be binding upon each party*
 “ *respectively, and according to which the*
 “ *proportions of Great-Britain were from the*
 “ *beginning regulated and founded*. The
 “ *terms of that agreement were, That, for*
 “ *the service at land, his Imperial majesty*
 “ *should furnish ninety thousand men, the*
 “ *king of Great-Britain forty thousand, and*
 “ *The States General one hundred and two*
 “ *thousand*: of which there were forty-two
 “ *thousand intended to supply their garrisons,*
 “ *and sixty thousand to act against the common*
 “ *enemy*

“ *enemy in the field*
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 “ *agreed to be pe*
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enemy in the field. And with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by *Great Britain* and The States General; the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five-eighths on the part of *Great-Britain*, and three-eighths on the part of The States General.

“ Upon this foot, the war began in the year 1702; at which time the whole yearly expence of it to *England* amounted to three millions seven hundred and six thousand four hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them: for it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than six millions nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the public debts, and the deficiencies accruing the last year, which two articles require one million one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that the whole demands upon your commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of

“ so great a pressure as this upon them : and
 “ as we are assured it will fully convince
 “ your majesty of the necessity of our present
 “ inquiry ; so we beg leave to represent to
 “ you from what causes, and by what steps,
 “ this immense charge appears to have grown
 “ upon us.

“ The service at sea, as it hath been very
 “ large and extensive in itself, so it has been
 “ carried on, through the whole course of the
 “ war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to
 “ your majesty and your kingdom : for the
 “ necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets
 “ should be fitted out every year, as well for
 “ the maintaining a superiority in *The Medi-*
 “ *terranean*, as for opposing any force which
 “ the enemy might prepare either at *Dunkirk*
 “ or in the ports of *West France* ; your majesty’s
 “ example and readiness, in fitting out your pro-
 “ portion of ships for all parts of that service,
 “ have been so far from prevailing with The
 “ States General to keep pace with you, that
 “ they have been deficient every year to a great
 “ degree, in proportion to what your majesty
 “ hath furnished ; sometimes no less than two-
 “ thirds, and generally more than half, of their
 “ quota : from hence your majesty has been
 “ obliged, for the preventing disappointments in
 “ the most pressing services, to supply those de-
 “ ficiencies by additional reinforcements of
 “ your own ships ; nor hath the single increase
 “ of such a charge been the only ill conse-
 “ quence that attended it ; for by this means
 “ the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so
 “ that

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that the discounts arising upon the credit of it have affected all other parts of the service. From the same cause, your majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the *British* navy. This also hath been the occasion that your majesty hath been streightened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient number of cruizers to guard them; and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with *The West Indies*, from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expences of this war.

“ That part of the war which hath been carried on in *Flanders* was at first immediately necessary to the security of The States General, and hath since brought them great acquisitions both of revenue and dominion: yet even there the original proportions have been departed from, and, during the course of the war, have been sinking by degrees on the part of *Holland*; so that, in this last year, we find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths, to your majesty's two-fifths, have been twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men. We are not unmindful that, in the year 1703, a treaty was made between the two nations, for a joint augmentation of twenty thousand men, wherein the proportions were

“ varied, and *England* consented to take half
 “ upon itself. But, it having been annexed as an
 “ express condition to the grant of the said aug-
 “ mentation in parliament, that The States
 “ General should prohibit all trade and com-
 “ merce with *France*; and that condition hav-
 “ ing not been performed by them; the com-
 “ mons think it reasonable, that the first rule
 “ of three to two ought to have taken place
 “ again, as well in that as in other subsequent
 “ augmentations; more especially when they
 “ consider, that the revenues of those rich pro-
 “ vinces which have been conquered would,
 “ if they were duly applied, maintain a great
 “ number of new additional forces against the
 “ common enemy: notwithstanding which,
 “ The States General have raised none upon
 “ that account; but make use of those fresh
 “ supplies of money, only to ease themselves
 “ in the charge of their first established quota.
 “ As, in the progress of the war in *Flanders*,
 “ a disproportion was soon created to the pre-
 “ judice of *England*; so the very beginning
 “ of the war in *Portugal* brought an unequal
 “ share of burden upon us: for although the
 “ emperor and The States General were
 “ equally parties with your majesty in the
 “ treaty with the king of *Portugal*; yet, the
 “ emperor neither furnishing his third part of
 “ the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor
 “ the *Dutch* consenting to take an equal share
 “ of his Imperial majesty’s defect upon them-
 “ selves, your majesty hath been obliged to
 “ furnish two-thirds of the entire expence
 “ created

“ created by that
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 “ year 1706, when
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created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopped there; for ever since the year 1706, when the *English* and *Dutch* forces marched out of *Portugal* into *Castile*, The States General have entirely abandoned the war in *Portugal*, and left your majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge; which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the king of *Portugal* have been but ill seconded by that prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot and two thousand horse more in consideration of a subsidy paid him; yet, according to the best information your commons can procure, it appears that he hath scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

“ In *Spain*, the war hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your majesty than in any other branch of it; for, being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of *English* and *Dutch* troops were sent thither in the year 1705; not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country; but with a view only of assisting the

“ *Spaniards*

“ *Spaniards* to set king *Charles* upon the
 “ throne ; occasioned by the great assurances
 “ which were given of their inclinations to
 “ the house of *Austria* ; but, this expectation
 “ failing, *England* was insensibly drawn into
 “ an established war, under all the disadvan-
 “ tages of the distance of the place, and the
 “ feeble efforts of the other allies. The account
 “ we have to lay before your majesty upon
 “ this head is, that, although this undertaking
 “ was entered upon at the particular and ear-
 “ nest request of the Imperial court, and for
 “ a cause of no less importance and concern to
 “ them than the reducing the *Spanish* mo-
 “ narchy to the house of *Austria* ; yet neither
 “ the late emperors nor his present Imperial
 “ majesty have ever had any forces there on
 “ their own account, till the last year ; and then
 “ only one regiment of foot, consisting of two
 “ thousand men. Though The States Ge-
 “ neral have contributed something more to
 “ this service, yet their share also hath been
 “ inconsiderable ; for in the space of four
 “ years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive,
 “ all the forces they have sent into that coun-
 “ try have not exceeded twelve thousand two
 “ hundred men ; and from the year 1708 to
 “ this time, they have not sent any forces or
 “ recruits whatsoever. To your majesty’s care
 “ and charge the recovery of that kingdom
 “ hath been in a manner wholly left, as if
 “ none else were interested or concerned in it.
 “ And the forces which your majesty hath sent
 “ into *Spain*, in the space of seven years, from

“ 1705

“ 1705 to 1711, both
 “ to no less than
 “ hundred seventy-t
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 “ How great the
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1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men; besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty hath paid a subsidy to the emperor.

“ How great the established expence of such a number of men hath been, your majesty very well knows, and your commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by The States General, and the victualing of them during their transportation only. The accompts delivered to your commons shew, that the charge of your majesty’s ships and vessels employed in the service of the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man *per* month, from the time they sailed from hence, till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to six millions five hundred forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, fourteen shillings: the charge of transports on the part of *Great Britain*, for carrying on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from the beginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one million three hundred thirty-six thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings,
“ and

“ and eleven pence; that of victualling land-
 “ forces for the same service, to five hundred
 “ eighty-three thousand seven hundred and
 “ seventy pounds, eight shillings, and six
 “ pence; and that of contingencies, and other
 “ extraordinaries for the same service, to one
 “ million eight hundred forty thousand three
 “ hundred and fifty-three pounds.

“ We should take notice to your majesty of
 “ several sums paid upon account of contingen-
 “ cies and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making
 “ together the sum of one million one hun-
 “ dred seven thousand and ninety-six pounds;
 “ but we are not able to make any comparison
 “ of them, with what The States General
 “ have expended upon the same head, having
 “ no such state of their extraordinary charge
 “ before us. There remains, therefore, but
 “ one particular more for your majesty's ob-
 “ servation, which arises from the subsidies
 “ paid to foreign princes. These, at the be-
 “ ginning of the war, were borne in equal
 “ proportion by your majesty and The States
 “ General; but in this instance also, the ba-
 “ lance hath been cast in prejudice of your
 “ majesty: for it appears that your ma-
 “ jesty hath since advanced, more than your
 “ equal proportion, three millions one hun-
 “ dred and fifty-five thousand crowns^d, besides
 “ extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not included

^d In the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XVII. p. 48. is an exact state of all the subsidies and extra expences, from 1702 to 1711. N.

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any of the foregoing articles, which arise five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

We have laid these several particulars before your majesty in the shortest manner we have been able; and, by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it does appear that, ever and above the quotas on the part of *Great Britain*, answering to those contri- buted by your allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your ma- jesty, during the course of this war, by way of surplufage, or exceeding in balance; of which none of the confederates have fur- nished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great concern that we find so much occasion given us, to represent how ill use hath been made of your majesty's and your subjects zeal for the common cause: that the interest of that cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only have been eased at your majesty's and your subjects costs; and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have upon all accounts been equally, and in most respects much more nearly, concerned than *Britain* in the issue of the war. We are persuaded, your majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment, to complain of the little regard which some of those whom your majesty of late years intrusted have shewn to the interest of their country, in giving way at least to such unreasonable impositions
“ upon

“ upon it, if not in some measure contriving
 “ them : the course of which impositions hath
 “ been so singular and extraordinary, that,
 “ the more the wealth of this nation hath been
 “ exhausted, and the more your majesty’s arms
 “ have been attended with success, the heavier
 “ hath been the burden laid upon us ; whilst,
 “ on the other hand, the more vigorous your
 “ majesty’s efforts have been, and the greater
 “ the advantages which have redounded thence
 “ to your allies, the more those allies have
 “ abated in the share of their expence.

“ At the first entrance into this war, the
 “ commons were induced to exert themselves
 “ in the extraordinary manner they did, and
 “ to grant such large supplies as had been un-
 “ known to former ages, in hopes thereby to
 “ prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war,
 “ and to bring that in which they were ne-
 “ cessarily engaged to a speedy conclusion :
 “ but they have been very unhappy in the
 “ event, whilst they have so much reason to
 “ suspect that what was intended to shorten
 “ the war, hath proved the very cause of
 “ its long continuance ; for those to whom
 “ the profits of it have accrued have been
 “ disposed not easily to forego them. And
 “ your majesty will from thence discern
 “ *the true reason why so many have delighted*
 “ *in a war, which brought in so rich an har-*
 “ *vest yearly from Great Britain.*

“ We are as far from desiring, as we know
 “ your majesty will be from concluding, any
 “ peace but upon safe and honourable terms :

“ and

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and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies, for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be obtained. All that your faithful commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your majesty; and a just application of what hath been already gained from the enemy, towards promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria, such as the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, and other places in *Italy*. Others have been conquered, and added to their dominions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the duchy of *Mantua*, and the bishoprick of *Liege*. These, having been reduced in great measure by our blood and treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the war in *Spain*. And therefore we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that you will give instructions to your ministers, to insist with the emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other parts of the war, to which your majesty hath obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care that your allies do perform their

“ parts stipulated by those treaties ; and that
 “ your majesty will, for the future, no
 “ otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies,
 “ than in proportion to what your allies
 “ shall actually furnish and pay. When
 “ this justice is done to your majesty and
 “ to your people, there is nothing which
 “ your commons will not cheerfully grant,
 “ towards supporting your majesty in the cause
 “ in which you are engaged. And whatever
 “ farther shall appear to be necessary for car-
 “ rying on the war, either at sea or land, we
 “ will effectually enable your majesty to bear
 “ your reasonable share of any such expence ;
 “ and will spare no supplies which your sub-
 “ jects are able, with their utmost efforts, to
 “ afford.

“ After having inquired into and considered
 “ the state of the war, in which the part your
 “ majesty has borne appears to have been not
 “ only superior to that of any one ally, but
 “ even equal to that of the whole confe-
 “ deracy : your commons naturally inclined
 “ to hope, that they should find care had been
 “ taken of securing some particular advan-
 “ tages to *Britain*, in the terms of a future
 “ peace ; such as might afford a prospect of
 “ making the nation amends, in time, for that
 “ immense treasure which has been expended,
 “ and those heavy debts which have been con-
 “ tracted, in the course of so long and bur-
 “ then some a war. This reasonable expecta-
 “ tion could no way have been better answered,
 “ than by some provision made for the further
 “ security and the greater improvement of the
 “ commerce

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commerce of *Great Britain*. But we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that, in a treaty not long since concluded between your majesty and The States General, under colour of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the Succession and the Barrier; it appears the interest of *Great Britain* hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore highly dishonourable to your majesty.

“ Your commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of The States General; particularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*, and the castle of *Ghent*, which can in no sense be looked upon as part of a barrier against *France*; but, being the keys of *The Netherlands* towards *Britain*, must make the trade of your majesty's subjects in those parts precarious, and, whenever The States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of The States General, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless; for, the sovereignty of *The Low Countries* being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted: besides that, in case of a rupture or an attack, The States have full liberty al-

“lowed them to take possession of all *The*
 “*Spanish Netherlands*, and therefore needed
 “no particular stipulation for the towns above
 “mentioned.

“Having taken notice of this concession
 “made to The States General, for seizing upon
 “the whole ten provinces; we cannot but ob-
 “serve to your majesty, that, in the manner
 “this article is framed, it is another dangerous
 “circumstance which attends this treaty; for,
 “had such a provision been confined to the
 “case of an apparent attack from *France* only,
 “the avowed design of this treaty had been
 “fulfilled, and your majesty’s instructions to
 “your ambassador had been pursued: but this
 “necessary restriction hath been omitted; and
 “the same liberty is granted to The States, to
 “take possession of all *The Netherlands* when-
 “ever they shall think themselves attacked by
 “any other neighbouring nation, as when they
 “shall be in danger from *France*; so that, if it
 “should at any time happen (which your com-
 “mons are very unwilling to suppose) that
 “they should quarrel even with your majesty,
 “the riches, strength, and advantageous situ-
 “ation of these countries may be made use of
 “against yourself, without whose generous
 “and powerful assistance they had never been
 “conquered.

“To return to those ill consequences which
 “relate to the trade of your kingdoms. We
 “beg leave to observe to your majesty, that,
 “though this treaty revives and renders your
 “majesty a party to the fourteenth and fif-
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teenth articles of the treaty of *Munster*, by virtue of which the impositions upon all goods and merchandizes brought into *The Spanish Low Countries* by the sea are to equal those laid on goods and merchandizes imported by *The Scheld*, and the canals of *Sass* and *Swyn*, and other mouths of the sea adjoining; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality upon the exportation of those goods out of the *Spanish* provinces, into those countries and places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be in the possession of *The States*; the consequence of which must in time be, and your commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of *The States General* will be taken off, while those upon the goods imported by your majesty's subjects remain: by which means, *Great Britain* will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages been possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of *Burgundy*, one of the most antient, as well as the most useful, allies to the crown of *England*.

“ With regard to the other dominions and territories of *Spain*, your majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them; and, both by antient treaties and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of

“ trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any
 “ other nation whatsoever. And that wise
 “ and excellent treaty of the Grand Alliance
 “ provides effectually for the security and con-
 “ tinuance of these valuable privileges to *Brit-*
 “ *tain*, in such a manner, as that each nation
 “ might be left, at the end of the war, upon
 “ the same foot as it stood at the commence-
 “ ment of it. But this treaty we now com-
 “ plain of, instead of confirming your sub-
 “ jects rights, surrenders and destroys them:
 “ for, although by the sixteenth and seven-
 “ teenth articles of the treaty of *Munster*,
 “ made between his Catholic majesty and The
 “ States General, all advantages of trade
 “ are stipulated for and granted to the *Hol-*
 “ *landers*, equal to what the *English* enjoyed;
 “ yet, the crown of *England* not being a party
 “ to that treaty, the subjects of *England* have
 “ never submitted to those articles of it, nor
 “ even the *Spaniards* themselves ever observed
 “ them. But this treaty revives those articles
 “ in prejudice of *Great Britain*; and makes
 “ your majesty a party to them, and even a
 “ guarantee to The States General for privi-
 “ leges against your own people.

“ In how deliberate and extraordinary a man-
 “ ner your majesty’s ambassador consented to
 “ deprive your subjects of their ancient rights,
 “ and your majesty of the power of procuring
 “ to them any new advantage, most evidently
 “ appears from his own letters, which, by
 “ your majesty’s directions, have been laid
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before your commons^e: for, when matters of advantage to your majesty and to your kingdom had been offered, as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by The States General, upon this reason and principle: That nothing foreign to the guaranties of the succession and of the barrier should be mingled with them. Notwithstanding which, The States General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your majesty and the present emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your commons now complain; which article your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the succession of the barrier; and although he had for that reason departed from other articles, which would have been for the service of his own country.

“ We have forborne to trouble your majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to and affects the Empire and other parts of *Europe*. The mischiefs which arise from it to *Great Britain* are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you, as they are very evident and very great. And as it appears that the lord viscount *Townshend* had not any orders, or authority, for concluding several of those articles which are most prejudicial to your

“ majesty’s subjects; we have thought we
 “ could do no less than declare your said am-
 “ bassador who negociated and signed, and all
 “ others who advised the ratifying of this
 “ treaty, enemies to your majesty and your
 “ kingdom.

“ Upon these faithful informations and ad-
 “ vices from your commons, we assure our-
 “ selves, your majesty, in your great goodness
 “ to your people, will rescue them from those
 “ evils, which the private counsels of ill-
 “ designing men have exposed them to; and
 “ that, in your great wisdom, you will find
 “ some means for the explaining and amending
 “ the several articles of this treaty, so as
 “ that they may consist with the interest of
 “ *Great Britain*, and with real and lasting
 “ friendship between your majesty and The
 “ States General.”

Between the representation^f and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the 9th of *February*, was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign Protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a Protestant, of what-

^f It was presented to her majesty *March 1, 1711*; and answered *March 5. N.*

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 crease the number of Dissenters; and there-
 re the proposal that such foreigners should
 obliged to conform to the established wor-
 ip was rejected. But, because several per-
 ns were fond of this project, as a thing that
 ould be of mighty advantage to the kingdom,
 shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, "That people are the riches of
 a nation," hath been crudely understood by
 many writers and reasoners upon that sub-
 ect. There are several ways by which people
 re brought into a country. Sometimes a na-
 ion is invaded and subdued; and the con-
 querors seize the lands, and make the natives
 heir under-tenants or servants. Colonies have
 een always planted where the natives were
 driven out or destroyed, or the land unculti-
 vated and waste. In those countries where the
 lord of the soil is master of the labour and
 liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by
 his money, mens riches are reckoned by the
 number of their vassals. And sometimes, in
 governments newly instituted, where there are
 not people to till the ground, many laws have
 been made to encourage and allure numbers
 from the neighbouring countries. And, in all
 these cases, the new comers have either lands
 allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors.

But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in such a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony; and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many surmized, it had some other meaning; it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the publick was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome at best, and intercepts that nourishment which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house who should be allowed to possess employments

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employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of lords: and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations already made on that article are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of commons advanced one considerable step towards securing us against farther impositions from our allies; resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* should make good their proportion of three-fifths to two-fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected. The duke of *Marlborough's* deduction

of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops was also applied for carrying on the war &c.

Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in *Scotland*, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those fynods and presbyteries; and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that Dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part among us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established; while those of the episcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against

g In the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XVII. p. 15. the report of the Commissioners is printed, in which is included the duke's justification of his conduct. See above, p. 109; and POPE'S Moral Essays, Ep. 1. in the *old* editions.

“Triumphant leaders, at an army's head,
 “Hemm'd round with glories, pilfer cloth or bread;
 “As meanly plunder as they bravely fought,
 “Now save a kingdom, and now save a groat.” N.

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is bill was, that it set the religion by law in both parts of the island upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our Dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from *Carstairs* and other *Scotch* professors, against this bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause that should restrain all persons who have any office in *Scotland* from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard to *Scotland*, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped that, if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords and other persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the episcopal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of

of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there; which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. secretary *St. John* to acquaint the house, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the bishops estates in Scotland, which remained in the crown, should be applied to the support of such of the episcopal clergy there as would take the oaths to her majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her majesty's counsels were grounded: and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. *St. John*^h, who had been secretary

^h See his character by Dr. *Swift*, vol. XV. p. 64.—The author of the *Letter to Mr. Walpole*, quoted above, has not been more favourable to Mr. *St. John* than to his friend Mr. *Harley*. "He was a man of excellent parts; but the great opinion

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secretary at war, for several years, under the
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nion he had of them, exposed him to the grossest flattery. He was naturally haughty and insolent; but had nothing of true grandeur in him. He had a lively imagination, a quick apprehension, a sound reflexion, and a ready elocution; which are talents that cannot fail of making a man shine in parliament. But he was far from making the same figure in other stations; for, though he had capacity enough for business, he hated it; though he had learning, language, and address, sufficient to have made him a very accomplished secretary of state, he wanted the main thing, *application*. He was entirely a man of pleasure, and an immoderate debauchee." The Letter-writer then proceeds to such virulence of abuse that it would be an insult to the Reader to extract it. By way of contrast, it may not be disagreeable to transcribe the opinion of lord Chesterfield, in 1749: "Lord Bolingbroke has both a tongue and a pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation is full as elegant as his writings: whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would bear the press, without the least correction, either as to method or style.— He has been a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but
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former administration, where he had the advantage

“ formed a shining and sudden contrast.—Impetu-
 “ osity, excess, and almost extravagancy, charac-
 “ terized not only his passions, but even his senses,
 “ His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and
 “ storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously
 “ triumphed, disdaining all decorum.—Notwith-
 “ standing the dissipation of his youth, and the tu-
 “ multuous agitation of his middle age, he has an
 “ infinite fund of various and almost universal know-
 “ ledge, which, from the clearest and quickest con-
 “ ception, and happiest memory, that ever man was
 “ blessed with, he always carries about him. It is
 “ his pocket-money, and he never has occasion to
 “ draw upon a book for a sum.—He excels more
 “ particularly in History, as his historical works
 “ plainly shew.—He engaged young, and distin-
 “ guished himself in business; and his penetration
 “ was almost intuition. All the internal and ex-
 “ ternal advantages and talents of an Orator are un-
 “ doubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, know-
 “ ledge; and, above all, the purest and most florid
 “ diction, with the justest metaphors and happiest
 “ images, had raised him to the post of secretary at
 “ war at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which
 “ others are hardly thought fit for the smallest em-
 “ ployments.—During his long exile in *France*, he
 “ applied himself to study with his characteristical
 “ ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly exe-
 “ cuted, the plan of a great philosophical work.
 “ The common bounds of human knowledge are
 “ too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagina-
 “ tion.—He has had a very handsome person, with a
 “ most engaging address in his air and manners;
 “ he

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antage of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made secretary of state. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his situation, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions, through the whole

he has all the dignity and good-breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have.—He joined all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity of a statesman, and to the learning of a pedant. He was *omnis homo*." See *Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. II. p. 289. III. 264. 271. IV. 3. 50.—Some apology is necessary for the length of this extract. The best that can be offered will be, that it is as much abridged, as justice to the noble writer of it would permit: and that the political character of lord *Bolingbroke* is so closely allied to that of Dr. *Swift*, as to excuse an attempt towards its investigation.—His writings against religion, it is plain, by a letter of his own, he at one time thought improper for publication. The curious reader will not be displeased at being referred to a letter of his lordship, vol. XX. p. 215, of this collection; to Dr. *Hazoke's* remarks on it, p. 219; and to the letters which passed on the occasion between lord viscount *Cornbury* and Mr. *Mallet*, vol. XXI. p. 256. N.

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course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the house of commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by order of The States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into *English*, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papersⁱ. A complaint being made thereof to the house of commons; they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the minister, that, while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her majesty had taken towards a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end, but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the house of commons, began to

ⁱ *The Daily Courant*, April 7, 1712. N.

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y ought to steer in this new world. They
ended to revive a new country-party in par-
ment, which might, as in former times,
pose the court in any proceedings they dis-
ted. The whole body was of such who
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inciples, upon which account they were ir-
concilable enemies to the late ministry and
l its adherents. On the other side, confi-
ering the temper of the new men in power,
at they were persons who had formerly
oved between the two extremes, those gentle-
men, who were impatient for an entire change,
nd to see all their adversaries laid at once as
ow as the dust, began to be apprehensive that
he work would be done by halves. But the
uncture of affairs at that time, both at home
nd abroad, would by no means admit of the
east precipitation, although the queen and her
irst minister had been disposed to it: which cer-
tainly they were not. Neither did the court
seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in
appearance against it, but composed of honest
gentlemen, who wished well to their country,
in which both were entirely agreed, although
they might differ about the means; or, if
such a society should begin to grow resty, no-
thing was easier than to divide them, and ren-
der all their endeavours ineffectual.

But, in the course of that first session, many
of this society became gradually reconciled to
the new ministry, whom they found to be
greater objects of the common enemy's hatred
than

than themselves; and the attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person^k to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this *October* club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings: but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly leveled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter^l, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable jealousy of the treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve or

^k Mr. Harley. N.

^l Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley. N.

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Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, deavoured to obtain a point which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands and other interests granted by the crown since the 13th day of *February*, 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing the bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper; which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the house of lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been, to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses: notwithstanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack: and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one: whereby the worst that could

could happen would have followed, if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself nor any other of the queen's servants were at all against this inquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court withstood it to a man, as in a party-case: among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection began to be alarmed, as men whose neighbours houses are on fire. A shew of zeal for the late king's honour occasioned many reflections upon the date of this inquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the mask which he had lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the house of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest hath been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve.

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solve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an inquiry; and every body believed that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for sale or settlement. Besides, the examples of the *Irish* forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners, that, when the house of commons hath once engaged in a pursuit which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition; besides, the profusion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or, indeed, rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended inquiry was invidious and trifling; for king *James II.* made very few grants: he was a better manager,

nager, and *squandering* was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title than by purchasing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called *tacking*, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for instance, as those for making the king's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the king's coffers, for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the king's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses: so that, when the house of commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince.

ince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which, it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances by granting supplies, which, upon some emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking; so that there is more to be said on each side of the case than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the house of commons with relation to the press; since her majesty's message to the house, of *January* the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message seems to be confined to those weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of commons, in their address which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal
L mischief;

mischief; but as the person^m who advised the queen in that part of her message had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and hath since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leifure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a sett of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a style and genius leveled to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the side of their prince and country are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick; and it is to be wished, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but, in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and shut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it

Mr. Secretary St. John.

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is not to be denied that, acting as they do upon national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely bring them down as no longer necessary. But, if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration: and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood plentifully, and sometimes not unplaussibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may with more safety despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her majesty trusted in her greatest affairs than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction; what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interest, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the mischiefs of the preſs were too exorbitant to be cured by ſuch a remedy as a tax upon the ſmaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the houſe of commons, but ſo late in the ſeſſion that there was no time to paſs it: for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingneſs to cramp overmuch the liberty of the preſs, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much or too little; or whether the benefit propoſed by each party to themſelves, from the ſervice of their writers towards recovering or preſerving of power, be thought to outweigh the diſadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the houſe till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a claufe inserted (whether induſtriouſly with deſign to overthrow it) that the author's name and place of abode ſhould be ſet to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the leaſt regard to learning, would give his conſent to: for, beſides the objection to this claufe from the practice of pious men, who, in publiſhing excellent writings for the ſervice of religion, have choſen, out of an humble Chriſtian ſpirit, to conceal their names; it is certain that all perſons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modeſty and ſuſpicion of themſelves, upon their firſt ſending their thoughts into the world; and that thoſe
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no are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgement, have dispositions directly contrary : so that, if this clause had made part of law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning : and that innumerable race of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made towards a peace, from the first overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the second session ; I shall, in the fourth book, relate the particulars of this great negotiation, from the period last mentioned to the present time : and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all* ; but, being a body of people wholly turned to trade

and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times was, to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, "That no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions;" under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity. However, this act in favour of the Quakers was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance; and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up. Upon this, they applied themselves to the lords; who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world;
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and this in a point where those deluding or de-
 cayed people stand singular from all the rest of
 mankind who live under civil government : but
 the designs of an aspiring party, at that time,
 were not otherwise to be compassed than by
 undertaking any thing that would humble and
 mortify the Church ; and I am fully convinced
 that, if a set of sceptic philosophers (who pro-
 fess to doubt of every thing) had been then
 among us, and mingled their tenets with some
 corruptions of Christianity, they might have
 obtained the same privilege ; and that a law
 would have been enacted, whereby the solemn
 doubt of the people called Scepticks should
 have been accepted, instead of an oath in the
 usual form : so absurd are all maxims formed
 upon the inconsistent principles of Faction,
 when once they are brought to be examined
 by the standard of Truth and Reason !

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF
THE QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies and those of the enemy preparing to assemble at *Utrecht* on the first of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they set all their instruments at work to inflame both houses against her majesty's measures. M. *Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: *Hoffman*, the emperor's

ror's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over prince *Eugene* at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the Imperial court: the earl of *Nottingham*ⁿ became a convert, for reasons

ⁿ Having given two extracts from the *Letter to Mr. Walpole*, which were drawn up in an acrimonious style, it may not be unpleasant to take leave of that writer, by extracting a specimen of his panegyrick: "The earl of *Nottingham* was once the idol of the Tories, and extolled to the skies by them for his eminent abilities. No doubt, he was the ornament of their party; and was allowed even by those who had not the honour to act with him to be a person of *universal* abilities, and to be perfectly skilled in the constitution of his own country, and deeply read in the laws of other nations. But, as soon as he found the late ministry were entering into measures that would necessarily introduce popery and arbitrary power, he declared not only against *them* personally, but against all the forces that should concur with them; and employed all his talents, especially that distinguished eloquence which is inherent to his family, in exposing their destructive proceedings, and laying open the villainy of the peace which they were then clandestinely and meanly carrying on. This noble stand, as it was the result of a steady immoveable virtue, so it ought to be remembered to his eternal honour; and especially when it is known that (if he had not preferred the public welfare to his own private advantage) he was at this time *offered* every thing: But he rejected all their solicitations and offers with scorn; " an

reasons already mentioned where occasion
of *Somerset* and *Mar*
the earl of *Godolphin*
the head of the *Jun*
order to attack the
the vote passed the ho
ing into the address
clause, against any
M. Bays, the *Dutch* e
in all the consultation
party for carrying th
meet with the lord

and laughed at the ca
endeavoured to cast up
them."—As the pa
tracted is scarce, the re
to see a list of the great
villify or adore. The
Comd., *Mr. Harley*,
Mar, the duke of *Sbrev*
the earl of *Strafford*, ea
Harcourt, *Bp. Atter*
Bumley, *Sir T. Hanme*
Edward Harley, *Mr.*
Freeman, *Mr. John Wa*
Compton, *Mr. Shippen*,
Wentlock, and a *Mr. H.*
re, *Sir Robert Walpole*,
the earl of *Nottingham*,
uke of *Argyle*, the ear
Ireland, the earl of *Or*
Compton,
Mr. Lechmere, *Mr. Aisla*

already mentioned: money was distributed where occasion required; and the dukes of *Perth* and *Marlborough*, together with the earl of *Godolphin*, had put themselves at the head of the Junto and their adherents, in order to attack the court. Some days after they passed the house of lords, for admitting to the address the earl of *Nottingham's* resolution against any peace without *Spain*; and the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in the consultations with the discontented for carrying that point, was desired to confer with the lord-privy-seal, the earl of

Orford, who laughed at the calumnies and aspersions they had ventured to cast upon him when he had rejected them. —As the pamphlet whence this is extracted is scarce, the reader may not be displeased to see a list of the great names it was intended to procure. The former were, the duke of *Devonshire*, Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *St. John*, the earl of *Mar*, the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the duke of *Bolton*, the earl of *Strafford*, earl *Rivers*, lord *Bingley*, Sir *Robert*, Bp. *Atterbury*, lord *Lansdown*, Mr. *Walpole*, Sir *T. Hanmer*, Sir *W. Wyndham*, Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *Arthur Moore*, Mr. *Ralph*, Mr. *John Ward*, Mr. *Charles Cæsar*, Mr. *Shippen*, Sir *J. Packington*, Sir *W. Brouncker*, and a Mr. *H.*—The characters he extols are, *Robert Walpole*, the duke of *Marlborough*, the earl of *Nottingham*, lord chancellor *Cowper*, the earl of *Argyle*, the earl of *Islay*, the earl of *Sunderland*, the earl of *Orford*, lord *Townshend*, earl of *Mar*, Mr. *Compton*, the speaker, Mr. *Pulteney*, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Aislaby*, and Mr. *Boscawen*. N. *Dartmouth*,

Dartmouth, and Mr. secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a treaty between the queen and The States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France*; said, "It was his opinion, that those
 "ministers ought, in respect of the friendship
 "between both nations, to acquaint him what
 "these advantages were; and that he looked
 "upon his country to be entitled, by treaty,
 "to share them equally with us: That there
 "was now another reason why we should be
 "more disposed to comply with him upon this
 "head; for, since the late resolution of the
 "house of lords, he took it for granted, it
 "would be a dangerous step in us to give *Spain*
 "to a prince of the house of *Bourbon*; and
 "therefore that we should do well to induce
 "The States, by such a concession, to help us
 "out of this difficulty."

Mr. *St. John* made answer, "That there
 "was not a man in the queen's council capa-
 "ble of so base a thought: That, if *Buy*s
 "had any thing to complain of, which was
 "injurious to *Holland*, or justly tending to
 "hurt the good correspondence between us
 "and The States, he was confident her ma-
 "jesty would at all times be ready to give it
 "up; but that the ministers scorned to screen
 "themselves at the expence of their country:
 "That the resolution *Buy*s mentioned was
 "chiefly owing to foreign ministers intermed-
 "dling in our affairs, and would perhaps have
 "an effect the projectors did not foresee:
 "That,

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"That, if the peace be
 "the house of common
 "the war upon another
 "public expence within
 "treaties required in the
 "our present condition
 "the partisans for war to
 "Although the secreta
 "wer would put an end
 "als, it fell out otherw
 "M. *Buy*s applied himself
 "ing to undertake,
 "should give up the art
 "they might share with
 "Negroes." To which
 "short, "That he
 "head than consent to
 "It is manifest by
 "whatever schemes were
 "this juncture, by the
 "the *Dutch* only designed
 "it would answer their
 "strain of the lower
 "must be allowed to e
 "Christendom, lay upon
 "bargain, by taking ac
 "they themselves had
 "nearest neighbour and
 "But the queen highl
 "from a republick up
 "ferred so many obligat
 "ure that the *Dutch*
 "struments to act in con
 "icious people, who
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if the peace became impracticable, house of commons would certainly put war upon another foot; and reduce the expence within such a compass as our resources required in the strictest sense, and as the present condition would admit, leaving artificers for war to supply the rest."

Though the secretary believed this would put an end to such infamous projects, it fell out otherwise; for, shortly after, he applied himself to the treasurer, proposing to undertake, "That his masters should give up the article of *Spain*, provided they might share with us in the *Assiento* for *Indies*." To which the treasurer's answer was, "That he would rather lose his office than consent to such an offer."

It is manifest by this proceeding, that, secret schemes were forming here at home, in conjunction, by the enemies to the peace, who only designed to fall in with it as far as would answer their own account; and by means of the lower politicks, wherein they were allowed to excell every country in the world, lay upon the watch for a good opportunity, by taking advantage of the distresses themselves had brought upon their neighbour and ally.

The queen highly resented this indignity done to the republick upon whom she had contracted so many obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their intentions to act in confederacy with a cabal of dissolute people, who were prepared to sacrifice

the safety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her majesty knew very well that, whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point The States had long given up; who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republick had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favours. Her majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon *British* counsels; so that, after the earl of *Nottingham's* clause against any peace without *Spain* was carried in the house of lords, directions were immediately sent to the earl of *Strafford* at *The Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, "That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and *Dutch* ministers; to let them know, "The queen thought herself ill-treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations: That The States might

"might have the war pleased; but that they were forced to carry it on as they would suffer them to settle the interests of To others in *Holland*, more moderate, the earl said That The States were That their ministers thing that we had would perform all the from us, in relation their trade; and that unfairly, if he had but that *Britain*, respects upon a new would no longer struggle nor be amused by what came more and more that the single dispute *Dutch* would join with queen, or with the prince *Eugene* from which he was about and of which I have told, "That the queen's intentions to carry on of it should be agreed her majesty's resolution: but, until peror and allies were neither promise nor At the same time, M

t have the war continued, if they
 ed; but that the queen would not be
 d to carry it on after their manner; nor
 d suffer them to make her peace, or to
 the interests of her kingdoms."
 others in *Holland*, who appeared to be
 moderate, the earl was directed to say,
 The States were upon a wrong scent:
 their minister here mistook every
 that we had promised: That we
 d perform all they could reasonably ask
 us, in relation to their barrier and
 trade; and that *Monf. Buys* dealt very
 rly, if he had not told him as much:
 that *Britain*, proceeding in some re-
 ts upon a new scheme of politicks,
 d no longer struggle for impossibilities,
 be amused by words: That our people
 e more and more to their senses; and
 the single dispute now was, whether the
 b would join with a faction against the
 n, or with the nation for her?"
 court likewise resolved to discourage
Eugene from his journey to *Englaud*,
 he was about this time undertaking,
 which I have spoken before. He was
 "That the queen wanted no exhorta-
 s to carry on the war; but the project
 t should be agreed abroad, upon which
 majesty's resolutions might soon be fig-
 ed: but, until she saw what the em-
 or and allies were ready to do, she would
 her promise nor engage for any thing."
 e same time, *Mr. St. John* told *Hoffman*,
 M a the

the emperor's resident here, "That, if the
 " prince had a mind to divert himself in *Lon-*
 " *don*, the ministers would do their part to en-
 " tertain him, and be sure to trouble him
 " with no manner of business."

This coldness retarded the prince's journey
 for some days; but did not prevent it, al-
 though he had a second message, by the
 queen's order, with this farther addition,
 " That his name had lately been made use of,
 " on many occasions, to create ferment, and
 " stir up sedition; and that her majesty judged
 " it would be neither safe for him, nor conve-
 " nient for her, that he should come over at
 " this time." But all would not do: it was
 enough that the queen did not absolutely for-
 bid him; and the party-confederates, both
 foreign and domestic, thought his presence
 would be highly necessary for their service.

Towards the end of *December*, the lord
 privy-seal^o set out for *Holland*. He was or-
 dered to stop at *The Hague*, and, in conjunc-
 tion with the earl of *Strafford*, to declare to
 The States, in her majesty's name, " Her re-
 " solutions to conclude no peace, wherein the
 " allies in general, and each confederate in
 " particular, might not find their ample secu-
 " rity and their reasonable satisfaction: That
 " she was ready to insist upon their barrier
 " and advantages in their trade, in the manner
 " The States themselves should desire; and to

^o Dr. *John Robinson*, bishop of *Bristol* in 1710;
 lord privy seal in 1711, in the room of *John*
Holles, duke of *Newcastle*: and in 1713 trans-
 lated to the see of *London*. N.

" concert

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" concert with them fur-
 " both powers might
 " engagements never to
 " thing could be of g
 " for the ministers of
 " land to enter the con
 " ties of confidence, a
 " throughout the court
 " to which purpose,
 " pleasure, that their
 " with the Dutch mi
 " and method for oper
 " conferences, and
 " structed to com
 " thoughts and meas
 " taries of The State
 " received the same in
 " Lastly, the two lo
 " pensionary and the oth
 " majesty's preparatio
 " were carried on w
 " vigour the preser
 " allow: and to insi
 " done by The State
 " should join in pr
 " other allies to mak
 " had hitherto done
 " must languish, an
 " come every day m
 " The two British
 " Utrecht with very
 " after the usual man
 " higher demands fro
 " half of the allies)
 " hope to obtain. T

ST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 185

ert with them such a plan of treaty, as powers might be under mutual engagements never to recede from: That nothing could be of greater importance, than the ministers of *Great Britain* and *Hol.* to enter the congress under the strictest of confidence, and entirely to concur throughout the course of these negotiations; which purpose, it was her majesty's sure, that their lordships should adjust with the *Dutch* ministers the best manner and method for opening and carrying on the conferences, and declare themselves intended to communicate freely their thoughts and measures to the plenipotentiaries of *The States*, who, they hoped, had received the same instructions."

ly, the two lords were to signify to the nary and the other ministers, "That her majesty's preparations for the next campaign were carried on with all the dispatch and for the present circumstances would w: and to insist, that the same might be done by *The States*: and that both powers should join in pressing the emperor and her allies to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which, the war must languish, and the terms of peace become every day more disadvantageous."

The two *British* plenipotentiaries went to the court with very large instructions, and, in the usual manner, were to make much more demands from *France* (at least in behalf of the allies) than they could have any prospect of obtaining. The sum of what they had

in charge, besides matter of form, was, to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against *France*, "That all differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the *French* to interfere: That whatever were proposed to *France* by a minister of the alliance should be backed by the whole confederacy: That a time might be fixed for the conclusion, as there had been for the commencement, of the treaty." *Spain* was to be demanded out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family, as the most effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with *France*; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon, for hindering that union, their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the interests of each ally in particular; the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand "*Strasburg*, the fort of *Kehl* with its dependencies, and the town of *Brisac* with its territory, for the emperor; That *France* should possess *Alsatia*, according to the treaty of *Westphalia*, with the right of the præfecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: That the fortifications of the said ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the said treaty, except *Landau*, which was to be demanded for the emperor and empire, with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: That the *French* king should, at a certain time, and at his own expence, demolish

"demolish the fortresses

"*Brisac*, and Fort *Le*

"That the town and

"should be demanded

"*Hesse-Cassel*, until the

"sealed.

"That the clause

"the fourth article of

"and contrary to the

"be annulled, and the

"*Germany* restored to

"of *Westphalia*.

"That *France* should

"king of *Prussia*, and

"in *Neufchatel* and *V*

"That the prince

"other estates belong

"*ham*, should be rest

"That the duke of

"known elected elector

"That the king

"all the advantages

"and the allies.

"That The *Sta*

"barrier *Furnes*, *L*

"*Lisle*, *Tourney*, *C*

"*beuge*, *Douay*, *B*

"and *Bouchain*,

"That the *French*

"places belonging

"this war in his

"lands: That su

"be thought fit m

"a barrier to The

th the fortresses of *Hunningen*, *New*
zc, and *Fort Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.
 hat the town and fortrefs of *Rhinfelt*
 ld be demanded for the landgrave of
e-Cassel, until that matter be otherwise
 ed.

hat the clause relating to religion, in
 fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*,
 contrary to that of *Westphalia*, should
 annulled, and the state of religion in
many restored to the tenor of the treaty
Westphalia.

That *France* should acknowledge the
 g of *Prussia*, and give him no disturbance
Neufchatel and *Valengin*.

That the principality of *Orange*, and
 er estates belonging to the late king *Wil-*
n, should be restored, as law should direct.

That the duke of *Hanover* should be ac-
 owledged elector.

That the king of *Portugal* should enjoy
 the advantages stipulated between him
 l the allies.

That The States should have for their
 rrier *Furnes*, *Fort Knock*, *Menin*, *Ipres*,
le, *Tourney*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *Mau-*
age, *Douay*, *Bethune*, *Avie*, *St. Venant*,
 d *Bouchain*, with their cannon, &c.:

hat the *French* king should restore all the
 aces belonging to *Spain*, now or during
 is war in his possession, in *The Nether-*
nds: That such part of them as should
 e thought fit might be allowed likewise for
 barrier to The States: That *France* should

“ grant the tariff of 1664 to The States;
 “ and exemption of fifty pence *per* tun upon
 “ *Dutch* goods trading to that kingdom: But
 “ that these articles in favour of the States
 “ should not be concluded, till the Barrier
 “ treaty were explained to the queen’s sa-
 “ tisfaction.

“ That the duke of *Savoy* should be put in
 “ possession of all taken from him in this war,
 “ and enjoy the places yielded to him by the
 “ emperor and other allies: That *France*
 “ should likewise yield to him *Exilles, Fe-
 “ nestrilles, Chaumont*, the valley of *Pregata*,
 “ and the land lying between *Piedmont* and
 “ *Mount Genu*.

“ That the article about demolishing of
 “ *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

As to *Britain*; the plenipotentiaries were
 to insert, “ That *Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent*,
 “ and all places which appear to be a barrier
 “ rather against *England* than *France*, should
 “ either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at
 “ least in such a manner as not to hinder the
 “ queen’s subjects free passage to and from *The*
 “ *Low Countries*.

“ That the seventh article of the Barrier-
 “ treaty, which empowers The States, in case
 “ of an attack, to put troops at discretion
 “ in all the places of *The Low Countries*, should
 “ be so explained as to be understood only of
 “ an attack from *France*.

“ That *Britain* should trade to *The Low*
 “ *Countries* with the same privileges as *The*
 “ States themselves.

“ That

“ That the most Ch
 “ knowledge the succe
 “ immediately oblige
 “ *France*; and that the
 “ wife, for himself an
 “ acknowledge any per
 “ of *England*, otherwis
 “ settlements now in in
 “ That a treaty of co
 “ menced, as soon as
 “ and *Britain*; and,
 “ necessary points relat
 “ That the isle of
 “ be surrendered to
 “ restored, *Placentia*
 “ *Newfoundland* yiel
 “ most Christian kin
 “ quit all claim to *N*
 “ *Royal*.
 “ That *Gibraltar*
 “ annexed to the *Br*
 “ That the *Assie*
 “ *Britain* for thirty
 “ vantage as to *Fr*
 “ ground on the ri
 “ and refreshing the
 “ That *Spain* sh
 “ of *Britain* as larg
 “ nation whatsoev
 “ exemption of duti
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 “ what should app
 “ majesty from th

That the most Christian king should acknowledge the succession of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the pretender to leave *France*; and that the said king should promise, for himself and his heirs, never to acknowledge any person for king or queen of *England*, otherwise than according to the laws and customs now in force.

That a treaty of commerce should be commenced, as soon as possible, between *France* and *Britain*; and, in the mean time, the necessary points relating to it be settled.

That the isle of *St. Christopher's* should be surrendered to the queen, *Hudson's Bay* secured, *Placentia* and the whole island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain* by the most Christian king; who was likewise to renounce all claim to *Nova Scotia* and *Annapolis Royal*.

That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be annexed to the *British* crown.

That the *Assiento* should be granted to *Britain* for thirty years, with the same advantage as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the Negroes.

That *Spain* should grant to the subjects of *Britain* as large privileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of duties, amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen *per cent*.

That satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly due to her Majesty from the emperor and The States.

“ Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should
 “ consult, with those of the Protestant allies,
 “ the most effectual methods for restoring the
 “ Protestants of *France* to their religious and
 “ civil liberties, and for the immediate re-
 “ lease of those who are now in the galleys.”

What part of these demands were to be in-
 sisted on, and what were to be given up, will
 appear by the sequel of this negociation.
 But there was no difficulty of moment enough
 to retard the peace, except a method for pre-
 venting the union of *France* and *Spain* under
 one prince, and the settling the barrier for
Holland; which last, as claimed by The
 States, could, in prudence and safety, be no
 more allowed by us than by *France*.

The States General having appointed Mons.
Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at
Utrecht, that minister left *England* a few days
 after the lord privy-seal. In his last con-
 ference with the lords of the council, he ab-
 solutely declared, “ That his masters had done
 “ their utmost, both by sea and land: That
 “ it was unreasonable to expect more: That
 “ they had exceeded their proportion, even
 “ beyond *Britain*; and that as to the emperor
 “ and other allies, he knew no expedient left
 “ for making them act with more vigour,
 “ than to pursue them with pathetical exhorta-
 “ tions.”

This minister was sent over hither, in-
 structed and empowered by halves. The fer-
 ment raised by the united endeavours of our
 party-leaders, among whom he was a constant
 fellow-

flow-labourer to the ut-
 wholly confounded his
 take the advantage of
Holland at the expence
 for all for his own co-
 the common cause.
 ministers and he parte
 ally; and her majesty
 the value of what is us-

As the queen was d
 measures in making v
 thing would so much
 the necessity of a peace
 gently put in mind of
 her ambassador *Straff*
 accordingly direc
 should object, of wh
 would be for the enem
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 “selves, for forcing
 “princesses to whose
 “preservation and g
 “lick, and chusing
 “faction, rather tha
 “in the queen.”

It was her majest
 there should be a
 treaty between the r
 than which nothing
 make *France* compl
 Above all, she direc

labourer to the utmost of his skill, had confounded him; and, thinking to the advantage of negotiating well for at the expence of *Britain*, he acted for his own country, and worse for common cause. However, the queen's and he parted with the greatest civility, and her majesty's present was double of what is usual to the character he

the queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought not would so much convince The States of necessity of a peace, as to have them freely put in mind of this resolution, which ambassador *Strafford*, then at *The Hague*, accordingly directed to do: and if they object, of what ill consequence it might be for the enemy to know her majesty intended to lessen her expences; he might answer, "That the ministers here were sorry for it, but the *Dutch* could only blame themselves, for forcing into such a necessity a republic to whose friendship they owed the preservation and grandeur of their republic, and chusing to lean on a broken reed, rather than place their confidence in the queen."

It was her majesty's earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this time between the ministers of all the allies; which nothing could be more effectual to induce *France* to comply with their just demands. At all, she directed her plenipotentiaries

to enter into the strictest confidence with those of *Holland*; and that, after The States had consented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty: because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it: but *Monf. Buys*, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*; and to insist, "That his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the *Assiento* contract:" so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between *Britain* and The States, which her majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies; the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the 29th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-house at one door, and those of *France* at the same instant at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the bishop of *Bristol* lord

lord privy-seal, first presented the assembly with a letter from the king, directed to the ministers, in the following effect:

"Messieurs,
"We are here to enter
"of God, to enter
"neral peace, between
"king your master.
"entions, and expressions
"periors to concur,
"ever may advance
"Christian a work
"hope you have
"that your orders
"able, without
"expectation of the
"ing yourselves
"the points we shall
"conferences; and
"in so plain and
"prince and state
"a just and reason

The *French* before the overtures were delivered to the queen, to give in a master would yield each give a several demands and difficulties and was at length a

Privy-seal, first plenipotentiary of *Britain*,
 and the assembly with a short speech, di-
 rected to the ministers of *France*, in words to
 the following effect:

“Messieurs,

We are here to meet to-day, in the name
 of God, to enter upon a treaty of ge-
 neral peace, between the high allies and the
 king your master. We bring sincere in-
 tentions, and express orders from our su-
 periors to concur, on their part, with what-
 ever may advance and perfect so salutary and
 christian a work. On the other side, we
 hope you have the same disposition; and
 that your orders will be so full, as to be
 able, without loss of time, to answer the
 expectation of the high allies, by explain-
 ing yourselves clearly and roundly upon
 the points we shall have to settle in these
 conferences; and that you will perform this
 in so plain and specific a manner, as every
 prince and state in the confederacy may find
 a just and reasonable satisfaction.”

The *French* began, by promising to explain
 the overtures which *Monf. Mesnager* had de-
 livered to the queen some months before, and
 to give in a specific project of what their
 master would yield, provided the allies would
 each give a specific answer, by making their
 several demands; which method, after many
 difficulties and affected delays in the *Dutch*,
 was at length agreed to.

But

But The States, who had with the utmost discontent seen her majesty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion. They raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the *British* secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* professor for that office; which the queen refused, and resented their behaviour as an useless cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The *British* plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with *France*, by the intervention of one *Molo*, a busy factious agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed in such intrigues; and that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier from the *French* than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* ministers did also apply themselves with industry to cultivate the Imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and *The West-Indies*, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reason, they avoided settling any general plan of peace in concert with the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her majesty desired; and *Monf. Buys* plainly told their lordships,

lordships, "That it was
"that he nor his colleagues
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"shares with *Britain* in
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ps, "That it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, The States were admitted equal with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*."

court, having notice of this untractable in the *Dutch*, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-treaty; since nothing was more reasonable or agreeable to reason, than for princes and themselves aggrieved by prejudicial acts to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared, that the house of commons, that the nation agreed with what her majesty desired, if the *Dutch* ministers would be brought to any moderate terms upon demand, their lordships were directed to review and amend the particular concessions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined not to allow The States any share in the conquest of *Gibraltar*, and *Port Mahon*; nor could think it reasonable that they should be on an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

For was the conduct of the Imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of The States; both those powers appearing equally bent, either upon breaking off the negotiation, or upon forcing from the queen the advantages she expected by it for her kingdoms. Her majesty therefore thought

thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind; which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at *The Hague*, and there told the pensionary, "That nothing had happened lately in *England*, but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the allies: "That the proceedings of the house of commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the queen and the nation had been treated by Monsr. *Bothmar*, count *Gallas*, *Buys*, and other foreign ministers: That, if The states would yet enter into a strict union with the queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise her majesty must save her own country, and join with such of her allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the allies, and their opposition to the queen, by private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as well as by open remonstrances, had made the house of commons take that matter out of the hands of the ministers.

"Lastly, that, in case the present treaty were broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to comply, her majesty thought it reasonable to insist that some cautionary places be put

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"Mr. *Harley's* instr
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"About this time
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her hands, as pledges that no other negotiation should be entered into by The General without her participation."

Harley's instructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they should persuade those of *France* to open themselves as far as possible, in concerting such a plan for general peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: That the people of *England* believed *France* would consent to such a plan; wherein if they found themselves deceived, they would be more eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the Dutch, "That no extremity should make her majesty depart from insisting to have the Assiento for her own subjects, and to possess *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*: but, if the States would agree with her upon these three heads, she would be content to restore the trade of *Spain* and *The West-Indies* to the condition it was in under the late Catholick king *Charles II.*"

The *French* were farther to be pressed, that the pretender should be immediately driven out of that kingdom; and that the most effectual method should be taken, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince."

About this time her majesty's ministers and those of the allies at *Utrecht* delivered in the several *postulata* or demands of their masters to the *French* plenipotentiaries; which having been

been since made public, and all of them, except those of *Britain*, very much varying in the course of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title^P, dying within the compass of a year, *Monf. Gualtier* went to *France*, with letters to the marquis *De Torcy*, to propose her majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for *Europe*, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted, under the present circumstances and situation of the *Bourbon* family; there being only left a child of two years old to stand between the duke of *Anjou* and his succeeding to the crown of *France*.

Her majesty likewise pressed *France*, by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries; empowering them to offer to the allies such a plan of peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's proposal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain* was, "That *Philip* should formally renounce the kingdom of *France*, for himself and his posterity; and that this renunciation should be confirmed by the cortes or state of *Spain*,

^P These princes were the grandfather, the father, and the brother, of *Lewis XV*, who was then duke of *Anjou*, and supposed at the point of death. N.

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were severally to renounce all title to

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In the mean time, the negociation at
st proceeded with a very slow pace; the
interposing all obstructions they could
ve, refusing to come to any reasonable
er upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a
in concert with the queen, for a general

Nothing less would satisfy them, than
artaking in those advantages we had sti-
ed for ourselves, and which did no ways
ere with their trade or security. They
expected some turn in *England*. Their
ds on this side had ventured to assure
t, “That the queen could not live many
onths;” which, indeed, from the bad state
er majesty’s health, was reasonable to ex-

The *British* plenipotentiaries daily dis-
red new endeavours of *Holland* to treat
ately with *France*. And, lastly, those
ng The States, who desired the war should
tinue, strove to gain time, until the cam-
gn should open; and, by resolving to enter
action with the first opportunity, render
all

all things desperate, and break up the congresses.

This scheme did exactly fall in with prince *Eugene's* dispositions, whom The States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct in this conjuncture the queen had too much reason to be jealous. But her majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy end to the war, having placed the duke of *Ormond* at the head of her forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in *British* pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of The States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at *Utrecht* to tell the *Dutch*, "That, in order to shew how desirous she was to live in perfect amity with that republick, she would resign up the fifteen *per cent.* advantage upon *English* goods sent to the *Spanish* dominions, which the *French* king had offered her by a power from his grandson; and be content to reduce that trade to the state in which it was under the late king of *Spain*. She would accept of any tolerable softening of these words in the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, where it is said, The States shall have

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er, in case of an apparent attack, to
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 places of *The Netherlands*, without spe-
 ing an attack from the side of *France*,
 ought to have been done; otherwise, the
 en might justly think they were pre-
 ng themselves for a rupture with *Britain*.
 majesty likewise consented, that The
 es should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*,
 the castle of *Ghent*, as an addition to
 r barrier, although she were sensible how
 rious those concessions would be to the
 le of her subjects; and would waive
 demand of *Ostend* being delivered into
 hands, which she might with justice
 ist on. In return for all this, that the
 een only desired the ministers of The
 tes would enter into a close correspon-
 nce with hers; and settle between them
 ne plan of a general peace, which might
 ve reasonable content to all her allies, and
 hich her majesty would endeavour to bring
 ance to consent to. She desired the trade
 her kingdoms to *The Netherlands* and to
 e towns of their barrier might be upon as
 od a foot as it was before the war began:
 hat the *Dutch* would not insist to have a
 are in the *Assiento*, to which they had not
 e least pretensions; and that they would
 o longer encourage the intrigues of a fac-
 on against her government. Her majesty
 ssured them, in plain terms, That her own
 uture measures, and the conduct of her
 plenipotentiaries, should be wholly governed
 “ by

“by their behaviour in these points; and that
 “her offers were only conditional, in case of
 “their compliance with what she desired.”

But all these proofs of the queen's kindness and sincerity could not avail. The *Dutch* ministers pleaded, “they had no power to concert the plan of general peace with those of *Britain*.” However, they assured the latter, “That the *Affiento* was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters.” Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which, they appeared very well satisfied, and said, “They would go to *The Hague*, for further instructions.” Thither they went; and after a week's absence, returned the same answer, “That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only disavow it of it when the difficulties of the *Barrier-treaty* were over.” And *Mons. Buys* took a journey to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was pensionary, against yielding the *Affiento* to *Britain*: but was unsuccessful in his negociation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that, in several petty republicks of single towns, which make up *The States General*, it should be formally debated, whether the queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain*

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 colonies of *America*!
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of selling *African* slaves in the *Spanish* colonies of *America*! But there was a pre-faction at *The Hague*, violently bent on any peace, where the queen must act in concert with which they had intended for them-

These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in *Holland*, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out time, till prince *Eugene's* activity had produced some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Before the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who were directed by the instructions of those mis-patriots, acted in every point with a degree of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a union between the allies, but especially between *France* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only way for procuring safe and honourable terms to *France*.

But neither was this the worst: for the queen received undoubted intelligence from *Vienna*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate correspondence with *France*; and by letters intercepted here from *Vienna* it was found, that the Imperial court whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with the king of *Holland*, expressed the most furious animosity against her majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment the queen could not digest, from an ally upon whom she had conferred

conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewise that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be secure of easier conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved, therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, sent her commands to the earl of *Stafford*, to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; *Mons. De Torcy* raising objections against several parts of it. But the queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty points were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a pledge into her hands; and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter; and The States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majesty, she pressed that matter no farther, because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end,

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 e war: and the *French* having declared
 selves ready to agree to her expedients for
 enting the union of the two crowns, and
 nted to the delivery of *Dunkirk*; positive
 s were sent to the duke of *Ormond*, to
 engaging in any battle or siege, until he
 urther instructions: but he was directed
 onceal his orders; and to find the best
 es he could, if any pressing occasion
 d offer.

he reasons for this unusual proceeding,
 h made a mighty noise, were of sufficient
 ht to justify it; for, pursuant to the agree-
 made between us and *France*, a courier
 then dispatched from *Fontainbleau* to *Ma-*
 with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*,
 r of resigning *Spain* immediately to the
 e of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of succeeding
rance, and some present advantage, which,
 having been accepted, is needless to dilate
 or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing
 uture claim to *France* for himself and his
 erity.

ntil it could be known which part *Philip*
 ld accept, the queen would not take pos-
 on of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an armistice to
 declared. But, however, since the most
 istian king had agreed that his grandson
 ld be forced, in case of a refusal, to make
 choice immediately; her majesty could not
 ure to think, that perhaps some thousands
 lives of her own subjects and allies might
 sacrificed without necessity, if an occasion

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should

should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new masters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for prince *Eugene*, and all the field-deputies of The States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging *Quesnoy*; the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, “That the *French* army should be attacked, “their camp having been viewed, and a great “opportunity offering to do it with success; “for the mareschal *De Villars*, who had notice “sent him by Mons. *De Torcy* of what was “passing, and had signified the same by a “trumpet to the duke, shewed less vigilance “than was usual to that general; taking no “precautions to secure his camp, or observe “the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them.” The duke said, “That the earl of *Strafford*’s sudden departure “for *England* made him believe there was “something of consequence now transacting; “which would be known in four or five days; “and

and therefore desired
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“*Britain*,” and
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“and are disposed t-

therefore desired they would defer this any other undertaking, until he could give fresh letters from *England*." Where- the prince and deputies immediately told duke, "That they looked for such an answer as he had given them: That they had suspected our measures for some time; and their suspicions were confirmed by the orders his grace had so lately received, as well as by the negligence of *Monf. Villars*." He appeared extremely dissatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, "That they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters:" which they accordingly did, and soon after, by order from The States, sent him an expostulating letter, in a style more respectful than became them; desiring among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the *French*; and afterwards told him, "They were sure he had such orders; otherwise he could not answer what he had done." But the duke still waived the question; saying, He would be glad to have letters from *England*, before he entered upon action; and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm; and vented their fury in very violent expressions against the queen, and those she employed in her counsels; said, "They were betrayed by *Britain*;" and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and are disposed to return it.

The duke of *Ormond's* army consisted of eighteen thousand of her majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and The States. The duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and, "that, upon an exigency, he
 " could only depend on the *British* troops adhering to him; those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, and
 " tempted the *Danes* to do the like; and that he
 " had reason to suppose the same of the rest."

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any action against the enemy; the *Dutch* ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy seal; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding,
 " how hard it was, that they should be kept
 " in the dark, and have no communication of
 " what was done in a point which so nearly
 " concerned them." They concluded, "That
 " the duke must needs have acted by orders;" and desired his lordship to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now said.

The bishop answered, "That he knew
 " nothing of this fact, but what they had told
 " him; and therefore was not prepared with
 " a reply to their representations: only, in
 " general,

general, he could venture to appear very little; deputies upon such orders were mainly built upon them; and would for to convince The States that the common interest provided for another or siege: That the which they complained The States so uneasy to receive it had made the utmost endeavours to cur with her in concluding a general peace, and both sides might but, to this day, fit to accept those of their ministers plenipotentiaries they had been proposed: began: that he did not take this opportunity he had received, clearing to them, for adjusting the The States were condition, That diately into the openly and from their common

ral, he could venture to say, that this appeared very like the conduct of their deputies upon former occasions: That, such orders were given, they were certainly built upon very justifiable foundations; and would soon be so explained, as convince The States and all the world, that the common interest would be better provided for another way, than by a battle or siege: That the want of communication, which they complained of, could not make the States so uneasy as their declining to receive it had made the queen, who had used her most endeavours to persuade them to concert with her in concerting every step towards general peace, and settling such a plan as both sides might approve and adhere to; that, to this day, The States had not thought to accept those offers, or to authorize any of their ministers to treat with her majesty's plenipotentiaries upon that affair, although they had been pressed to it ever since the negotiation began: That his lordship, to shew that he did not speak his private sense alone, took this opportunity to execute the orders he had received the evening before, by declaring to them, that all her majesty's offers for adjusting the differences between her and The States were founded upon this express condition, That they should come immediately into the queen's measures, and act openly and sincerely with her; and that, from their conduct, so directly contrary, she

“ now looked upon herself to be under no
 “ obligation to them.”

Monf. *Buys* and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But, after their surprize was abated, and *Buys's* long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that The States should immediately dispatch a minister to *England*, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said, he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, “ That her majesty
 “ looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them.” He told them his opinion, “ That, as the queen was bound by treaty to
 “ concert with The States the conditions of a
 “ peace; so, upon their declining the concert
 “ so frequently offered, she was acquitted of
 “ that obligation: but that he verily believed,
 “ whatever measures her majesty should take,
 “ she would always have a friendly regard to
 “ the interest of their commonwealth; and
 “ that, as their unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to her majesty, so
 “ their compliance would be equally pleasing.”

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as
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 “Spain was now re
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 “neral peace, stip
 “This speech

Holland, especially that part which concerned the duke of *Ormond*; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence that the duke had declined to act actively against *France*, in concurrence with allies, moved for an address, wherein the queen should be informed of "the deep concern of her commons for the dangerous consequences to the common cause which must arise from this proceeding of her general; and to beseech her, that speedy instructions might be given to the duke, to prosecute the war with vigour, in order to quiet the minds of her people, &c." But a great majority was against this motion; and a resolution drawn up, and presented to the queen the whole house, of a quite contrary tenor, that they had an entire confidence in her majesty's most gracious promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before the same should be concluded; and that they would support her majesty, in obtaining an honourable and safe peace, against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same."

The courier sent with the alternative to Philip was now returned, with an account that Philip had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his posterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 10th of *June*, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This speech being the plan whereby both

France

France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent course of the treaty; I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in most hands:

" My lords, and gentlemen;

" The making peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown. Yet such is the just confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this session, I acquainted you that a negociation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the same should be concluded.

" In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

" The assuring of the Protestant succession, as by law established, in the house of *Hanover*, to these kingdoms, being what I
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n, not only to have that acknowledged
the strongest terms; but to have an ad-
dional security, by the removal of that
on out of the dominions of *French*, who
pretended to disturb this settlement.

The apprehension that *Spain* and *The*
Indies might be united to *France*, was
chief inducement to begin this war; and
effectual preventing of such an union
the principle I laid down at the com-
mencement of this treaty: former examples;
the late negociations, sufficiently shew
how difficult it is to find means to accom-
ish this work. I would not content my-
self with such as are speculative, or depend
on treaties only: I insisted on what was
solid, and to have at hand the power of ex-
ecuting what should be agreed.

I can therefore now tell you, that *France*
last is brought to offer, that the duke of
Bourbon shall, for himself and his descendants,
renounce for ever all claim to the crown of
France; and, that this important article
may be exposed to no hazard, the per-
formance is to accompany the promise.

At the same time, the succession to the
crown of *France* is to be declared, after the
death of the present dauphin and his sons,
to be in the duke of *Berry* and his sons, in
the duke of *Orleans* and his sons, and so on
to the rest of the house of *Bourbon*.

As to *Spain* and *The Indies*, the suc-
cession to those dominions, after the duke
“ of

“ of *Anjou* and his children, is to descend to
 “ such prince as shall be agreed upon at the
 “ treaty; for ever excluding the rest of the
 “ house of *Bourbon*.

“ For confirming the renunciations and
 “ settlements before-mentioned, it is further
 “ offered, that they should be ratified in the
 “ most strong and solemn manner, both in
 “ *France* and *Spain*; and that those kingdoms,
 “ as well as all the other powers engaged in
 “ the present war, shall be guarantees to the
 “ same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that
 “ it executes itself: the interest of *Spain* is,
 “ to support it; and in *France*, the persons to
 “ whom that succession is to belong, will be
 “ ready and powerful enough to vindicate
 “ their own right.

“ *France* and *Spain* are now more effec-
 “ tually divided than ever. And thus, by the
 “ blessing of God, will a real balance of
 “ power be fixed in *Europe*, and remain liable
 “ to as few accidents as human affairs can be
 “ exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these
 “ kingdoms and *France* has been entered
 “ upon; but the excessive duties laid on some
 “ goods, and the prohibitions of others, make
 “ it impossible to finish this work so soon as
 “ were to be desired. Care is however taken
 “ to establish a method of settling this matter;
 “ and in the mean time provision is made, that
 “ the same privileges and advantages as shall
 “ be

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granted to any other nation by *France* shall be granted in like manner to us.

The division of the island of *St. Christo-*
r, between us and the *French*, having
 in the cause of great inconveniency and
 damage to my subjects; I have demanded
 have an absolute cession made to me of
 the whole island: and *France* agrees to this
 demand.

Our interest is so deeply concerned in the
 trade of *North America*, that I have used my
 most endeavours to adjust that article in
 the most beneficial manner. *France* con-
 sents to restore to us the whole *Bay* and
 the *rights* of *Hudson*, to deliver up the
 island of *Newfoundland*, with *Placentia*;
 and to make an absolute cession of *Anna-*
polis, with the rest of *Nova Scotia* or
Acadie.

The safety of our home trade will be
 better provided for, by the demolition of
Amunibo.

Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *British*
 interest and influence in those parts, will be
 secured by the possession of *Gibraltar* and
Port Mahon, with the whole island of *Mi-*
norca; which are offered to remain in my
 hands.

The trade to *Spain* and to *The West Indies*
 may in general be settled as it was in the
 time of the late king of *Spain*, *Charles the*
second; and a particular provision be made,
 that all advantages, rights, or privileges,
 which have been granted, or which may
 hereafter

“ hereafter be granted, by *Spain*, to any
 “ other nation, shall be in like manner granted
 “ by the subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ But, the part which we have borne in the
 “ prosecution of this war entitling us to some
 “ distinction in the terms of peace, I have
 “ insisted, and obtained, that the *Assiento*,
 “ or contract for furnishing *The Spanish West*
 “ *Indies* with Negroes, shall be made with
 “ us for the term of thirty years, in the same
 “ manner it has been enjoyed by the *French*
 “ for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine
 “ the interests of our confederates: These
 “ must be adjusted in the congress at *Utrecht*;
 “ where my best endeavours shall be em-
 “ ployed, as they have hitherto constantly
 “ been, to procure to every one of them all
 “ just and reasonable satisfaction. In the
 “ mean time, I think it proper to acquaint
 “ you, that *France* offers to make *The Rhine*
 “ the barrier of the Empire; to yield *Brisack*,
 “ the fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*; and to raze
 “ all the fortresses both on the other side of
 “ *The Rhine* and in that river.

“ As to the Protestant interest in *Germany*;
 “ there will be on the part of *France* no ob-
 “ jection to the re-settling thereof on the foot
 “ of the treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ *The Spanish Low Countries* may go to
 “ his Imperial majesty: the kingdoms of
 “ *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the duchy of *Milan*,
 “ and the places belonging to *Spain* on the
 “ coast

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of *Tuscany*, may likewise be yielded
the treaty of peace to the emperor.

As to the kingdom of *Sicily*; though
it remains no dispute concerning the
cession of it by the duke of *Anjou*, yet the
position thereof is not yet determined.

The interests of The States General with
respect to commerce are agreed to, as they
have been demanded by their own ministers,
with the exception only of some very few
species of merchandizes; and the entire
tier, as demanded by The States in 1709
in *France*, except two or three places
most.

As to these exceptions, several expedients
proposed: and I make no doubt but this
tier may be so settled, as to render that
publick perfectly secure against any en-
croachment on the part of *France*; which is
the foundation of all my engagements upon
my head with The States.

The demands of *Portugal* depending on
the disposition of *Spain*, and that article
having been long in dispute, it has not been
possible to make any considerable pro-
gress therein: but my plenipotentiaries
will now have an opportunity to assist that
king in his pretensions.

Those of the king of *Prussia* are such as,
I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the
part of *France*; and my utmost endeavours
shall not be wanting, to procure all I am
able to so good an ally.

“ The difference between the barrier de-
 “ manded for the duke of *Savoy* in 1709 and
 “ the offers now made by *France* is very in-
 “ considerable: but, that prince having so
 “ signally distinguished himself in the service
 “ of the common cause, I am endeavouring
 “ to procure for him still farther advantages.

“ *France* has consented, that the elector *Pa-*
 “ *latine* shall continue his present rank among
 “ the electors, and remain in possession of
 “ *The Upper Palatinate*.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise ac-
 “ knowledged in the house of *Hanover*, ac-
 “ cording to the article inserted, at that
 “ prince's desire, in my demands.

“ And as to the rest of the allies, I make
 “ no doubt of being able to secure their se-
 “ veral interests.

“ My lords, and gentlemen,

“ I have now communicated to you not
 “ only the terms of peace, which may, by
 “ the future treaty, be obtained for my own
 “ subjects; but likewise the proposals of
 “ *France*, for satisfying our allies.

“ The former are such as I have reason to
 “ expect, to make my people some amends
 “ for that great and unequal burden which
 “ they have lain under through the whole
 “ course of this war; and I am willing to
 “ hope that none of our confederates, and
 “ especially those to whom so great accessions
 “ of dominion and power are to accrue by
 “ this peace, will envy *Britain* her share in
 “ the glory and advantage of it.

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The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but, the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your chearful concurrence with me."

The discontented party in the house of commons, finding the torrent against them to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majesty's ascension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations for obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the duke of Ormond was in a very uneasy situation at his army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negociator than a great commander. But, as he had always proved his obedience where courage or conduct could be of use; so the duty he professed to his prince made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, "That he could

“not depend upon the foreign forces in the
“queen’s pay;” and he now found some at-
tempts were already begun, to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the duke had orders to inform the mareschal *De Villars* of the true state of this affair; and “that his grace would have decisive
“orders in three or four days.” In the mean time, he desired the mareschal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with prince *Eugene’s* army; which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived, with the account that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her majesty had proposed to *France* a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged to three or four) between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions:

“That, during the suspension, endeavours
“should be used for concluding a general
“peace; or, at least, the article for pre-
“venting the union of *France* and *Spain*
“should be punctually executed, by *Philip’s*
“renouncing *France*, for himself and his
“posterity; and the princes of *Bourbon*, in
“like manner, renouncing *Spain*: and that
“the town, citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk*,
“should be immediately delivered into the
“queen’s hands.” Her majesty, at the same
time, endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the
Dutch, provided they would come into the
suspension. But this was absolutely rejected
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LAST YEAR

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France; which that court never would have ventured to do, if those allies could have prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness, in concert with her majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the queen promised, "That, if The States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession."

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the British forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in *Holland*, the lord privy seal told the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, "That what her majesty had laid before her parliament could not, according to the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what *France* would yield in the course of a negociation; but only the utmost of what that crown would propose, in order to form the plan of a peace: That these conditions would certainly have been better, if The States had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her majesty, as she had so frequently exhorted them to do: That nothing but the want of harmony among the allies had spirited the *French* to stand out so long: That the queen would do them all the good offices in her power, if they thought fit to comply; and did not doubt of getting them reason-

“able satisfaction, both in relation to their barrier and their trade.” But this reasoning made no impression. The *Dutch* ministers said, “The queen’s speech had deprived them of the fruits of the war.” They were in pain lest *Lisle* and *Tournay* might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the *Dutch*. The populace in *Holland* began to be inflamed: they publicly talked, “That *Britain* had betrayed them.” Sermons were preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her *Britannic* majesty, whom they charged as a Papist, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain that The States appeared but a few days before very much disposed to comply with the measures the queen had taken, and would have consented to a general armistice, if count *Zinzendorf*, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between *Britain* and The States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of *Prussia*^a, the *Palatinates*, and *Hanover*, for continuing

^a The king of *Prussia* had long been weary of the war: but “the duke of *Marlborough*’s managers

continuing the war, who contributed men in return, and readily accept the offer, is easy to be accepted, and is hardly credible. The cautious emperor, should venture upon the peace upon the terms, the little Austria, the little long experience, counted upon long their most power given them by some new change, and the appearance of weakness or confidence, which first created this untractable

The *Dutch* asserted and surmised, told them, “The *Netherlands*

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“troops continuing
“neither their
“in the command
“*Marlborough*
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“not, resist.”

inuing the war. That those three electors who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should easily accept the proposals of the emperor, was easy to be accounted for. What appears very credible is, that a grave republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of peace upon the promises of the house of Austria, the little validity whereof they had long experienced; and especially when they depended upon losing the support of *Britain*, their most powerful ally: but the false hopes given them by their friends in *England* of some new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms, the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprized, when the lord privy seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in *The Netherlands* would be necessary; and

their representations and address had prevailed with him to let his troops continue in the army of the allies; when neither their representations, nor his own share in the common cause, could do it. The duke of *Marlborough* had no new matter to urge to him; but had a manner, which he could not, or did not, resist." *Chesterfield's Letters*, vol. III. p. 293. N.

“that the duke of *Ormond* intended very soon to declare it, after he had taken possession of *Dunkirk*.” But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening The States into a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be satisfactory; and hoped, “their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each in particular might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.”

In the mean time the duke of *Ormond* was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have notice from the mareschal *De Villars*, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it. But the duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing of this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces except those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of The States in this conjuncture; and was loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves

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selves had more than hinted to him) could seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to marshal *De* *rs*, "that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should be declared;" which the marshal, appearing extremely disappointed, said, "The king his master reckoned, that all the troops under his grace's command should yield to the cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for being still would rather chuse, after a ten years war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing." In short, the opinion of *mf. Villars* was, "That this difficulty canceled the promise of surrendering *Dunkirk*;" which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court. Upon the duke of *Ormond's* representing these difficulties, the queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from *England* to take possession of *Dunkirk*. The duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majesty's service, how highly she would resent their desertion; after which, their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The great privy-seal spoke the same language at *Brussels*, to the several ministers of the allies, as Mr. secretary *St. John* did to those who resided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon

“ as a declaration for or against her majesty;
 “ and that, in case they desert her service, she
 “ would look on herself as justified before
 “ God and man, to continue her negociation
 “ at *Utrecht*, or any other place, whether the
 “ allies concur or not.” And particularly the
Dutch were assured, “ That, if their masters
 “ seduced the forces hired by the queen, they
 “ must take the whole pay, arrears, and sub-
 “ sidies, on themselves.”

The earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the duke of *Ormond* of her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted The States deputies with the queen's uneasiness, lest, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and The States, “ with how much
 “ surprize her majesty had heard that there
 “ was the least doubt of their obeying the or-
 “ ders of the duke of *Ormond*; which if they
 “ refused, her majesty would esteem it not
 “ only as an indignity and affront, but as a
 “ declaration against her; and, in such a
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ix regiments, under the command of Mr. [unclear], were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; and the [unclear] of *Ormond*, upon the first intelligence [unclear] him that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare, "He could fight no longer against *France*." The queen [unclear] notice immediately of her proceedings [unclear] The States. She let them plainly know, That their perpetual caballing with her factious subjects, against her authority, had forced her into such measures as otherwise she would not have engaged in. However, her majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite with them in the strictest ties of amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful addresses of both houses, how far their high mightinesses had been deluded, and drawn in as instruments to serve the turn, and gratify the passions, of a disaffected party: That their opposition, and want of concert with her majesty's ministers, which she had so often invited them to, had encouraged *France* to except towns out of their barrier, which otherwise might have been yielded: That, however, she had not precluded them, or any other ally, from demanding more; and even her own terms were but conditional, upon supposition of a general peace to ensue: That her majesty

“resolved to act upon the plan laid down in
 “her speech.” And she repeated the promise
 of her best offices to promote the interest of
 The States, if they would deal sincerely
 with her.

Some days before the duke of *Ormond* had
 notice that orders were given for the surrender
 of *Dunkirk*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* sent for
 the generals of the allies, and asked them se-
 verally, “Whether, in case the armies se-
 “parated, they would march with him, or
 “stay with the duke?” All of them, except
 two, who commanded but small bodies,
 agreed to join with the prince; who there-
 upon, about three days after, sent the duke
 word, “That he intended to march the fol-
 “lowing day (as it was supposed) to besiege
 “*Landrecy*.” The duke returned an answer,
 “That he was surprized at the prince’s mes-
 “sage, there having been not the least pre-
 “vious concert with him, nor any mention in
 “the message, which way, or upon what de-
 “sign, the march was intended: therefore,
 “that the duke could not resolve to march
 “with him; much less could the prince ex-
 “pect assistance from the queen’s army, in
 “any design undertaken after this manner.”
 The duke told this before-hand, that he (the
 prince) might take his measures accordingly,
 and not attribute to her majesty’s general any
 misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of *July*, N. S. the several ge-
 nerals of the allies joined prince *Eugene’s*
 army, and began their march, after taking
 leave

leave of the duke
 whose expostulation
 them to stay; al-
 them, “That th
 “peace nor truce
 “forces would
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The next day
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ve of the duke and the earl of *Strafford*, whose exhortations could not prevail on him to stay; although the latter assured him, "That the queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*; and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy."

The next day after this famous desertion, the duke of *Ormond* received a letter from mons. *De Villars*, with an account that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be delivered to Mr. *Hill*. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, the head of the *British* army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her majesty's subjects, except the *Polsteiners* and count *Wallis's* dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march; and, pursuant to orders from court, retired towards the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the queen's service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his officers, "That the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, had refused them passage through those towns, or even liberty of entrance; and said it was by order of their masters." The duke immediately recollected that, when the deputies first heard of his resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, "They hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns." This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same

same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom, of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* troops entrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters^r.

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general *Cadogan*, to change his route (according to the military phrase), and move

^r *James Butler*, duke of *Ormond*, succeeded his grandfather in that title in *July* 1688; was lord lieutenant of *Ireland* in 1702, and again in 1710. He succeeded the duke of *Marlborough* as captain-general, and had the first regiment of guards. *Bishop Burnet* says, "he had the same appointments which were voted criminal in the duke of *Marlborough*." vol. IV. p. 367. N.

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Ghent.

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wards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When prince *Eugene* and The States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree; and sent count *Nassau*, of *Wordenberg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done; and to assure his grace, "That those commandants who had refused passage to his officers had acted wholly without orders." Count *Hempfeck*, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march; and on the 23d of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of *Bruges* a few days after.

The duke of *Ormond* thought that, considering the present disposition of The States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge from that republic in her hands, as well as from *France*; by which means her majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least; and that, while *Ghent* was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass *The Scheld* or *The Lis* without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists* to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty, which both of them were upon some

some occasions too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of *Ghent* a battalion of *British* troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled: so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than this; which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time in relating the duke of *Ormond's* proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of colonel *Disney* at court, with an account that Mr. *Hill* had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain fore-runner of a peace: besides, the *French* faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well that the *French* king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise.

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, if he found cause to repent it; one con-
 on of surrendering *Dunkirk* being a ge-
 l armistice of all the troops in the *British*
 which her majesty was not able to per-
 n; and upon this failure, the marefchal
Villars (as we have before related) en-
 ured to difsuade his court from ac-
 ing the conditions; and in the very in-
 al while thofe difficulties were adjusting,
 marefchal *De Uxelles*, one of the *French*
 ipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose inclina-
 s as well as thofe of his colleague *Monf.*
Gnager led him to favour The States more
 n *Britain*) affured the lord privy feal,
 That the *Dutch* were then preffing to enter
 into feparate meafures with his mafters.”
 d his lordfhip, in a vifit to abbé *De Po-*
rac, obferving a perfon to withdraw as he
 ered the abbé’s chamber, was told by this
 mifter, “That the perfon he faw was one
Moleau, of *Amfterdam*, mentioned before,
 famous agent for The States with *France*,
 who had been entertainining him (the
 abbé) upon the fame fubject; but that he
 had refufed to treat with *Moleau*, without
 the privity of *England*.”

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above to
 ve been fent early in the fpring to *Utrecht*,
 ntinued longer in *Holland* than was at firft
 pected; but, having received her majesty’s
 rther inftructions, was about this time ar-
 ed at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of
 s electoral highnefs, to be very ill ferved by
 onf. *Bothmar*, his envoy here, who affifted

at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service; insinuating "That the present ministers were not in the interest of his highness's family; that their views were towards the pretender; that they were making an unsecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power."

The earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing year, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his highness against her majesty's proceedings; but it should seem that he had no very great success in his negotiation: for, soon after his return to *England*, *Monf. Bothmar's* memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his electoral highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed

to take the first opportunity in private; though her majesty was justly provoked against, yet such highness, and concerning his family, that at least mark of respect send him (Mr. open her design the real interest conjuncture." elector a true account of *England* during of parliament; to weakness of those had consulted, and had acted; to conclude that faction must be concluded, and of the kingdom burthen of the exert itself; to the succession party: "That I a friend to business taken only to set his position to the elector, how far provided for by her majesty's speech; would appear loudest of this

the first opportunity of speaking to the
 or in private; to assure him, "That, al-
 ough her majesty had thought herself
 ly provoked by the conduct of his mi-
 ter, yet such was her affection for his
 ghness, and concern for the interests of
 family, that, instead of shewing the
 st mark of resentment, she had chosen to
 d him (Mr. *Harley*), fully instructed to
 en her designs, and shew his highness
 e real interest of *Britain* in the present
 njuncture." Mr. *Harley* was to give the
 or a true account of what had passed in
land during the first part of this session
 arliament; to expose to his highness the
 kness of those with whom his minister
 consulted, and under whose directions he
 acted; to convince him how much lower
 e faction must become when a peace should
 concluded, and when the natural strength
 the kingdom, disencumbered from the
 then of the war, should be at liberty to
 rt itself; to shew him how his interest in
 succession was sacrificed to that of a
 ty: "That his highness had been hitherto
 a friend to both sides; but that the mea-
 sures taken by his ministers, had tended
 only to set him at the head of one, in op-
 position to the other:" To explain to the
 ector, how fully the safety of *Europe* was
 ovided for by the plan of peace in her ma-
 jesty's speech; and how little reason those
 ould appear to have, who complained the
 udest of this plan, if it were compared ei-
 ther

ther with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. *Harley* was to observe to the elector, "That it should rather
 "be wondered at, how the queen had
 "brought *France* to offer so much, than yet
 "to offer no more; because, as soon as ever
 "it appeared that her majesty would be at
 "the head of this treaty, and that the interests
 "of *Britain* were to be provided for, such
 "endeavours were used to break off the ne-
 "gociation, as are hardly to be paralleled;
 "and the disunion thereby created among the
 "allies had given more opportunities to the
 "enemy of being slow in their concessions,
 "than any other measures might possibly have
 "done: That this want of concert among the
 "allies could not in any sort be imputed to
 "the queen; who had all along invited them
 "to it with the greatest earnestness, as the
 "surest means to bring *France* to reason:
 "That she had always in a particular manner
 "pressed The States General to come into the
 "strictest union with her, and opened to them
 "her intentions with the greatest freedom;
 "but finding that, instead of concurring with
 "her majesty, they were daily carrying on
 "intrigues to break off the negociation, and
 "thereby deprive her of the advantages she
 "might justly expect from the ensuing peace,
 "having no other way left, she was forced to
 "act with *France*, as she did, by herself:
 "That, however, the queen had not taken
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in herself to determine the interests of allies, who were at liberty of insisting farther pretensions; wherein her majesty would not be wanting to support them as far as she was able, and improve the concessions already made by *France*; in which, a good understanding and harmony among the confederates would yet be of the greatest use for making the enemy more stable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. *Harley's* instructions, because it serves as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to render majesty's intentions and proceedings at this time in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the duke of *Ormond*, upon the delivery of *Dun-*
blair, the *British* plenipotentiaries very early pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general armistice; for, if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of count *Zinzendorf* and the undertaking of prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of thirteen thousand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally to the emperor, and such a general as the duke of *Saxe*. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to *France* in the field;
 and,

and, although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank both for skill and station in arms, that, in most victories obtained in the present war, the *British* troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country); by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *British* general, at the head of *British* troops, was not to be overcome; and the marshal *De Villars* was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the earl of *Albemarle's* disgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the marshal's, and a manifest failure somewhere or other both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates; the blame of which was equally shared between prince *Eugene* and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of *Ormond* gave the
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er timely warning of his danger; observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, provided with bridges sufficient for the station he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The marquis *De Torcy* had likewise the same sentiments of what mighty consequence these few *British* battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to give up *Dunkirk*, although the queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that *Monf. De Torcy* made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the queen; and, observing her majesty's displeasure against the *Dutch* on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, "That, since The States had acted so ungratefully, the queen should let her forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace." But, although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her secretary *Mr. St. John* (created about this time viscount *Bolingbroke*) to tell *Monf. De Torcy*, "That no provocations whatever should tempt her to distress her allies; but she would endeavour to bring them to reason by fair means, or leave them to their own conduct: That, if the former should be found impracticable, she would
" then

“ then make her own peace, and content her-
 “ self with doing the office of a mediator be-
 “ tween both parties: but, if The States
 “ should at any time come to a better mind,
 “ and suffer their ministers to act in con-
 “ junction with her’s, she would assert their
 “ just interests to the utmost, and make no
 “ farther progress in any treaty with *France*,
 “ until those allies received all reasonable sa-
 “ tisfaction, both as to their barrier and their
 “ trade.” The *British* plenipotentiaries were
 directed to give the same assurances to the
Dutch ministers at *Utrecht*; and withal to let
 them know, “ That the queen was deter-
 “ mined, by their late conduct, to make peace
 “ either with or without them; but would
 “ much rather chuse the former.”

There was, however, one advantage, which
 her majesty resolved to make by this defection
 of her foreigners. She had been led, by the
 mistaken politicks of some years past, to in-
 volve herself in several guaranties with the
 princes of the North, which were in some
 sort contradictory to one another: but this
 conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such
 engagements, and left her at liberty to inter-
 pose in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*
 in such a manner as would best serve the in-
 terests of her own kingdoms, as well as that
 of the Protestant religion, and settle a due
 balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union
 of *France* and *Spain* was to be executed during
 a cessation of arms. But many difficulties
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 at importance to the common cause, which
 ld not easily be adjusted either between the
French and *British* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*,
 by correspondence between *Monf. De Torcy*
 the ministry here; the queen took the
 lution of sending the lord viscount *Boling-*
brooke immediately to *France*, fully instructed
 all her intentions, and authorized to ne-
 gate every thing necessary for settling the
 ty of peace in such a course as might bring
 a happy and speedy conclusion. He was
 owered to agree to a general suspension of
 s, by sea and land, between *Great Britain*,
France, and *Spain*, to continue for four
 mths, or until the conclusion of the peace;
 ided *France* and *Spain* would previously
 positive assurances to make good the
 s demanded by her majesty for the duke
Savoy, and would likewise adjust and deter-
 e the forms of the several renunciations to
 ade by both those crowns, in order to pre-
 their being ever united. The lord *Bo-*
roke was likewise authorized to settle
 e differences relating to the elector of *Ba-*
ia, for whose interests *France* was as
 h concerned as her majesty was for those
 ne duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful
 les which particularly related to the ad-
 ages of *Britain*; to know the real *ultima-*
 , as it is termed, of *France* upon the ge-
 l plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all
 es from that court of ever bringing the
 en to force her allies to a disadvantageous
 p
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peace; her majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *August*; was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission extremely to the queen's content and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns ^s.

In

^s On the 10th of *September* following, some difficulties having arisen in the course of this negotiation, lord *Bolingbroke* writes thus to Mr. *Prior* :
 “ For God's sake, dear *Matt*, hide the nakedness of
 “ thy country : and give the best turn thy fertile
 “ brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of
 “ thy countrymen, who are not much better politi-
 “ cians than the *French* are poets. I have writ in
 “ great haste a prodigious long letter to Monf.
 “ *Torcy*, which, I believe, he will shew you ; but,
 “ for fear he should not, I enclose in this an extract
 “ of part of it, which relates to a matter that has
 “ given lord treasurer and your humble servant no
 “ small trouble in the cabinet. It is now three a
 “ clock in the morning ; I have been hard at work
 “ all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear
 “ much fatigue : excuse therefore the confusedness
 “ of this scroll, which is only from *Harry* to *Matt*,
 “ and

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In the mean time, the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several weeks had been let all, since the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But, the *Dutch* still declaring against suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *British* plenipotentiaries told those of The States, "That, if the queen's endeavours could not procure more than the contents of her speech, or if the *French* should ever fall short of what was there offered, the *Dutch* could blame none but themselves, who, by their conduct, had rendered things difficult, that would otherwise have been easy." However, her majesty thought it prudent to keep The States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

"and not from the Secretary to the Minister. Your credentials of minister plenipotentiary will be sent you, together with your full powers, by the next boat; and before duke *Hamilton* goes, I will move to have your removed to *Utrecht*; which there will be a natural handle for, as soon as you shall settle the points of commerce, and, in doing that, have given the last stroke to the finishing the treaty with *France*. Adieu! my pen is ready to drop out of my hand: believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully yours." N.

Whilst the congress at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive state, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed, and accepted, that *Philip* should renounce *France*, for himself and his posterity; and that the most Christian king and all the princes of his blood should in the like manner renounce *Spain*.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very king *Lewis XIV*, pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain the *French* themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to *Philip* duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last king, *Charles II*.

It is indeed hard to reflect with any patience upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of *Europe* for some centuries past, who left a probability to *France* of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilst, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the *Salique* law. Should not common
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rudence have taught every sovereign in Chris-
 endom to enact a *Salique* law with respect to
France; for want of which, it is almost a
 miracle that the *Bourbon* family hath not pos-
 sessed the universal monarchy by right of in-
 heritance? When the *French* assert a proximity
 of blood gives a divine right, as some of their
 ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest,
 have lately advanced in this very case to the
 title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a
French succession, make their own kings
 usurpers? Or, if the *Salique* law be divine, is
 it not of universal obligation, and conse-
 quently of force to exclude *France* from in-
 heriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law
 be of human institution, may it not be enacted
 in any state, with whatever extent or limitation
 the legislature shall think fit? for the notion
 of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity
 in government, to be believed only by igno-
 rance, and supported by power. From hence
 it follows, that the children of the late queen
 of *France*, although she had renounced, were
 as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*
 as if the *Salique* law had been fundamental in
 that kingdom; since that exclusion was esta-
 blished by every power in *Spain* which could
 possibly give a sanction to any law there; and
 therefore the duke of *Anjou's* title is wholly
 founded upon the bequest of his predecessor
 (which hath great authority in that monarchy,
 as it formerly had in ours), upon the confir-
 mation of the cortes, and the general consent
 of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the queen hath exacted from the *French* king and his grandson, I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act: for as it is necessary for the security of every prince in *Europe* that those two great kingdoms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an union for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their king should not only renounce in the most solemn manner; but likewise that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon supposal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present dauphin lives, the weaker must *Philip's* interest be in *France*; because the princes who are to succeed by this renunciation will have most power and credit in the kingdom,

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The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a
 d understanding between the allies, espe-
 ly *Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every
 ; the *French* taking the advantage, and
 ing difficulties, not only upon the general
 of peace, but likewise upon the explana-
 of several articles in the projected treaty
 ween them and her majesty. They insisted
 have *Lisle*, as the equivalent for *Dunkirk* :
 demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*,
 the two or three towns mentioned in the
 en's speech : which the *British* plenipoten-
 ies were so far from allowing, that they
 ased to confer with those of *France* upon
 t foot ; although at the same time the for-
 r had fresh apprehensions that the *Dutch*,
 a fit of despair, would accept whatever
 ms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by pre-
 itating their own peace, prevent her ma-
 ty, from obtaining any advantages, both
 her allies and herself.

It is most certain that the repeated losses suf-
 ed by The States, in little more than two
 onths after they had withdrawn themselves
 om the queen's assistance, did wholly dis-
 ncert their counsels ; and their prudence
 s it is usual) began to forsake them with their
 od fortune. They were so weak as to be
 ll deluded by their friends in *England*, who
 ntinued to give them hopes of some mighty
 d immediate resource from hence ; for,
 hen the duke of *Ormond* had been about a
 onth in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the
 arechal *De Villars*, to inform him, " That
 " the

“the *Dutch* generals taken at *Denain* had told
 “the mareschal publicly of a sudden revolu-
 “tion expected in *Britain*; that particularly
 “the earl of *Albemarle* and *Monf. Hompesch*
 “discouraged very freely of it; and that no-
 “thing was more commonly talked of in *Hol-*
 “*land*.” It was then likewise confidently
 reported in *Ghent*, that the queen was dead;
 and we all remember what rumour flew about
 here at the very same time, as if her majesty’s
 health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit
 to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfor-
 tunes made them angry and fullen; whether
 they still expected to over-reach us by some
 private stipulations with *France*, through the
 mediation of the elector of *Bavaria*, as that
 prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else
 was the cause; they utterly refused a cessation
 of arms, and made not the least return to all
 the advances and invitations made by her ma-
 jesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then The States first began to view
 their affairs in another light; to consider how
 little the vast promises of count *Zinzendorf*
 were to be relied on; to be convinced that
France was not disposed to break with her ma-
 jesty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or un-
 reasonable demands; to discover that their fac-
 tious correspondents on this side the water had
 shamefully misled them; that some of their
 own principal towns grew heartily weary of
 the war, and backward in their loans; and,
 lastly, that prince *Eugene*, their new general,
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ther his genius or fortune had left him, not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the privy seal and the earl of *Strafford*, that The States were disposed to comply with her majesty, and to desire her good offices with *France*; particularly, that *Tour-ny* and *Condé* might be left to them as part of their barrier, without which they could not be safe: That the elector of *Bavaria* might not be suffered to retain any town in *the Netherlands*, which would be as bad for *Holland* as if those places were in the hands of *France*: Therefore The States proposed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, and *Lieuport*, might be delivered to the emperor: Lastly, That the *French* might not insist on excepting the four species of goods out of the tariff of 1664: That, if her majesty could prevail with *France* to satisfy their masters on these articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest."

When the queen received an account of this good disposition in The States Général, immediately orders were sent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the ministers of the *French* court, that her majesty had now some hopes of the *Dutch* complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed was about the disposal of *Tour-ny* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly

to have both, and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice for compleating the barrier of The States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the marquis *De Torcy* effectually on this head; and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him of her majesty's resolutions to appear openly on the side of the *Dutch*, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with *France*; whose late success against *Holland* had taught the ministers of the most Christian king to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and a *Dutch* plenipotentiary, *Monf. Mesnager* and count *Rechteren*; wherein the court of *France* demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Besides, the politicks of the *French* ran at this time very opposite to those of *Britain*. They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her majesty would either force The States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal point in dispute, or would finish her own peace with

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France and *Spain*, leaving a fixed time *Holland* to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the queen, who thought demand of *Tournay* by The States to be necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. *Clarendon* was ordered to signify this resolution of her majesty to *Monf. De Torcy*, in case that *France* could not be otherwise prevailed on. The *British* plenipotentiaries did likewise at the same time express to those of *Holland* her majesty's great satisfaction, "That The States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: That she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay but the *French* king: That, however, her majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable peace, by united counsels, reasonable demands, and prudent measures: That she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their barrier, and in settling, to their satisfaction, the exceptions made by *France* out of the tariff of 1664: That no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, since the queen had obtained *Sicily* for the duke of *Savoy*; and, in the settlement of *The Low Countries*, would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: That, as to the Empire, her majesty heartily wished their barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances

stances to expect every thing exactly according to the scheme of *Holland*: *France* had already offered a great part, and the queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke of *Hamilton* and the lord *Lexington* for ambassadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjust matters of commerce.

The duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the lord *Mobun*, a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though he himself received a wound; and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second^r, was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by lieutenant-general

^r The fatal catastrophe of this duel having been variously represented, another account of it is here inserted: "He and the lord *Mobun* were engaged in some suits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: so that, upon a very high provocation, the lord *Mobun* sent him a challenge, which he tried to decline; but both being hurried by those false points of honour, they fatally went out to *Hyde Park*, in the middle of *November*, and fought with so violent an animosity, that, neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the lord *Mobun* was killed outright, and duke *Hamilton* died in a few minutes after." *Burnet's History*, vol. IV. p. 382. N.

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cartney, who was second to lord *Mobun*. died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so-
rizing an event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *land* in *May* last, in order to give her majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in *land*, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the *Dutch* minister know, that some points would probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained: To shew what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay and irresolution; and to entreat them to fix on some proposition, reasonable in itself, as well as possible to be effected: That the queen would insist upon the cession of *Tournay* by *France*, provided the States would concur in finishing the peace, without starting new objections, or insisting upon farther points: That the *French* demands, in favour of the elector of *Bavaria*, appeared to be such as the queen was of opinion the States ought to agree to; which were, to leave the elector in possession of *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, subject to the terms of their barrier, until he should be restored to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom of *Sardinia*, to efface the stain of his degradation in the electoral college: That the earl had brought over a project of a new treaty

“ of succession and barrier, which her ma-
 “ jesty insisted The States should sign, before
 “ the conclusion of the peace; the former
 “ treaty having been disadvantageous to her
 “ subjects, containing in it the seeds of fu-
 “ ture dissensions, and condemned by the
 “ sense of the nation: Lastly, That her ma-
 “ jesty, notwithstanding all provocations, had,
 “ for the sake of the *Dutch*, and in hopes of
 “ their recovery from those false notions
 “ which had so long misled them, hitherto
 “ kept the negotiations open: That the offers
 “ now made them were her last, and this the
 “ last time she would apply to them: That
 “ they must either agree; or expect the queen
 “ would proceed immediately to conclude her
 “ treaty with *France* and *Spain*, in conjunc-
 “ tion with such of her allies as would think
 “ fit to adhere to her.

“ As to *Savoy*; that the queen expected
 “ The States would concur with her in mak-
 “ ing good the advantages stipulated for that
 “ duke, and in prevailing with the emperor to
 “ consent to an absolute neutrality in *Italy*,
 “ until the peace should be concluded.”

The governing party in *Holland*, however
 in appearance disposed to finish, affected new
 delays; and raised many difficulties about the
 four species of goods, which the *French* had
 excepted out of the tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*,
 the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was
 possible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*,
 in hopes to put them under a necessity of pre-
 paring for the next campaign; and some time
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ter went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, "That his Imperial majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united, against *France*; of which he desired they would send notice to all their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits." At the same time, *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some Imperial cities; but could not succeed either amongst the *Jews* or at *Amsterdam*.

When the earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the lord privy seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will bestir the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks by the plenipotentiaries of The States. But the province of *Utrecht*, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at *The Hague*, to declare their province thankful to the queen: "That they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new-projected treaty of barrier and succession." And about the close of the year 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered

livered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in The States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, "That the *Dutch* ministers held frequent conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*." Count *Zinzendorf* and his colleagues appeared likewise all on the sudden to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with The States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and *France*; for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the queen had lately dispatched the duke of *Shrewsbury* to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most Christian king would not be under a necessity of complying when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the emperor and The States could very well spare her majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which
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the two lords at *Utrecht* knew well how to make use of. The quarrel between *Monf. Mesnager* and *Count Richteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some circumstances, about the satisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the *British* plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days; and, in the mean time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her majesty and them, which about the middle of *January* was concluded fully to the queen's satisfaction.

But, while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war. She therefore sent orders to the lord privy seal and the earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which time, those among the allies who were really inclined towards a peace might settle their several interests, by the assistance and support of her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their respective demands, which *France* had yielded by her majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty; and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe conduct to *Bar-le-duc* in the duke of *Lorraine's* dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, "She would not sign the peace till that person were removed;" although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Britain* than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on The States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with *Britain* was, her majesty's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick; and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count *Richter* to *Monf. Mesnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian king. *Monf. Mesnager*, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of The States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The abbé *De Polignac*,
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most accomplished person, of great genero-
 and universal understanding, was gone to
 rome, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the
 marshal *De Huxelles* was wholly guided by
 his colleague *Monf. Mesnager*, who kept up
 the brangles that for a time obstructed the
 peace; some of which were against all jus-
 tice, and others of small importance, both of
 little advantage to his country, and less
 to the reputation of his master or himself.
 His low talent in business, which the cardi-
 nal *De Polignac* used, in contempt, to call
 the *Spirit of Negotiating*, made it impossible
 for the two lords plenipotentiaries, with all
 their abilities and experience, to bring *Mesna-*
ger to reason, in several points both with us
 and The States. His concessions were few and
 restrained, serving only to render him more
 obstinate of what he refused. In several of
 the towns which The States were to keep, he
 insisted, "That *France* should retain the cha-
 tellanies, or extent of country depending on
 them, particularly that of *Tournay*;" a de-
 mand the more unjustifiable, because he knew
 his master had not only proceeded directly
 contrary, but had erected a court in his king-
 dom, where his own judges extended the terri-
 tories about those towns he had taken as far as
 he pleased to direct them. *Monf. Mesnager*
 showed equal obstinacy in what his master
 expected for the elector of *Bavaria*, and in
 refusing the tariff of 1664: so that the queen's
 plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties
 as what might be of dangerous consequence,

both to the peace in general, and to The States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations, her majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a minister as the duke of *Shrewsbury*.

The marquis *De Torcy*, secretary to the most Christian king, was the minister with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war as any other could be either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike an historian, to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negociation, with the utmost candour and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns: To make them drop their unreasonable demands for the elector of *Bavaria*: To let them know, "that the queen was resolved

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red not to forsake her allies, who were ready to come in; that she thought best way of hastening the general peace was, to determine her own particular with *France*, until which time she would not conveniently suffer her parliament meet."

The States were by this time so fully convinced of the queen's sincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a humble letter to her majesty, to desire assistance towards settling those points which had in dispute with *France*, and professed themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her majesty would please to give of the plan proposed in her speech to parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of *February*, 1663, directed the duke of *Shrewsbury* to return to the *French* court, "That, since she had prevailed on her allies the *Dutch* to stop the demand of *Condé*, and the other of the four species of goods which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff of 1664, she would not sign without them: That she approved of the *Dutch* insisting to have the chatellanies restored with the towns; and was resolved to stand or fall with them, until they were satisfied in this point."

Her majesty had some apprehensions that the *French* created these difficulties on purpose

pose to spin out the treaty until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary that our parliament should meet in a few weeks; which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know, "That her majesty had hitherto prorogued her parliament, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties in her own treaties of peace and commerce with that crown, as well as settling the interests of her several allies; or at least that, the differences in the former being removed, the most Christian king would have made such offers for the latter, as might justify her majesty in signing her own peace, whether the confederates intended to sign theirs or no. But, several points being yet unfinished between both crowns, and others between *France* and the rest of the allies, especially The States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that court at *Utrecht* had not thought fit to give satisfaction; the queen was now come to a final determination, both with relation to her own kingdoms and to the whole alliance: That, the

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" See his chara
p. 129.

campaign approaching, she would not willingly be surprized in case the war was to
on: That she had transmittted to the
ke of *Shrewsbury* her last resolutions, and
er would be prevailed on to reduce her
n demands, or those of her allies, any
ver than the scheme now sent over as an
planation of the plan laid down in her
ech: That her majesty had sent orders
her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, to as-
ne the character of ambassadors, and sign
e peace immediately with the ministers of
e most Christian king, as soon as the
ke of *Shrewsbury* should have sent them
tice that the *French* had complined: That
e queen had therefore farther prorogued
r parliament to the third of *March*,
hopes to assure them, by that time,
her peace being agreed on; for, if
e two houses should meet while any un-
ertainty remained, supplies must be asked
for a war."

The duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this im-
tant commission with that speed and suc-
s, which could only be expected from an
e minister^u. The *French* king immedi-
ly yielded to the whole scheme her majesty
posed; whereupon directions were sent
the lord privy-seal and the earl of *Strafford*,
sign a peace between *Great Britain* and
ance, without delay.

^u See his character, vol. VIII. of this collection,
129.

Upon the second day of *March*, the two *British* plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the town-house at *Utrecht*; where the lord privy-seal addressed himself to them in a short speech: "That the negociation had
 "now continued fourteen months with great
 "slowness, which had proved very injurious
 "to the interests of the allies: That the queen
 "had staid thus long, and stopped the finish-
 "ing of her own peace, rather than leave her
 "allies in any uncertainty: That she hoped
 "they would now be all prepared to put an
 "end to this great work; and therefore had
 "commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell
 "those of the allies, That she found it ne-
 "cessary to conclude her own treaty imme-
 "diately; and it was her opinion, that the
 "confederates ought to finish theirs at the
 "same time; to which they were now ac-
 "cordingly invited, by her majesty's orders."
 And lastly, his lordship declared, in the queen's name, "That whoever could not be
 "ready on the day prefixed, should have a
 "convenient time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which as it would certainly be

be more popular to
 ceived it would be
 Besides, upon looki
 a scruple sprang i
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 lordships therefore
 new powers^w; and
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 tween the minist
 the several allies,
 smoothing the w
 them.

The earl of *St*
 to *The Hague*, to
 majesty's express
 and himself, for
 possible; and to

^w "Lord Bolin
 "gacity enough
 "plenipotentiaries
 "powers, for their
 "commission, and
 "to sign and con
 "culties of the
 "treasurer, who
 "when he found
 "high time to
 "his lordship n
 "ther obstructio
 "removed." R
 crecy, 1715, p.

more popular to their country, so they concluded it would be more safe for themselves. Besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they would not sign a particular peace with *France*; but their powers, as they apprehended, authorizing them only to sign a general one. Their ships therefore sent to *England*, to desire powers^w; and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of *France* and those of several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of *Strafford* went for a few days to *The Hague*, to inform The States of her Majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at

^w “ Lord *Bolingbroke*, who says he has not sagacity enough to find the objections that the plenipotentiaries had made to their first full powers, for their satisfaction, sends them a new commission, and repeats to them positive orders to sign and conclude with *France*. These difficulties of the plenipotentiaries made my lord treasurer, who never failed to exert himself when he found it absolutely necessary, think it high time to interpose his authority; and, as his lordship never yet appeared in vain, all further obstructions at *Utrecht* were after this soon removed.” Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1715, p. 103. N.

the

the same time: which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of *Monf. Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of *Monf. Heinsius's* ^x slowness; and charged all the delays and mismanagements of a twelve-month past to that minister's account.

While the earl of *Strafford* staid at *The Hague*, he discovered that an emissary of the duke of *Marlborough's* ^y had been there some days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the
Dutch

^x "The pensionary *Heinsius*, a venerable old minister, grown grey in business, and who had governed the republick of *The United Provinces* for more than forty years, was absolutely governed by the duke of *Marlborough*." *Chesterfield*, Letter cxxxvi.

^y *John Churchill*, the illustrious duke of *Marlborough*, "was page to king *James the Second's* queen. There the *Graces* protected and promoted him; for, while he was an ensign of the guards, the duchess of *Cleveland*, then favourite mistress to king *Charles II*, struck by those very *Graces*, gave him five thousand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather *Halifax*; which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune." *Chesterfield*, Letter cxxxvi.—He was created earl of *Marlborough* in 1689; in 1698 he was appointed governor to the duke of *Gloucester*; on queen *Anne's* accession, 1702, he was sent to *Holland*, to acquaint

Dutch from signing a ministers of the queen would at least have private peace, and ob who knew how to t very good account, emperor; on whom ought to rely much jecty. One of Th earl, "That the duke was th "magistrates of R "declared for the "to assure them, "little, they shou "in the *British* p "of *Marlborough* "members in bot "to turn against "all, that his gr "of the queen be "as made it imp "six weeks." S

quaint *The States* on his return, he Dec. 14, duke of made a prince of year had *Milidenbe* pality. In 1711, against his duche carried a surrende His own dismissio of this volume.

from signing at the same time with the
 ters of the queen, which, in *England*,
 d at least have the appearance of a fe-
 e peace, and oblige their *British* friends,
 knew how to turn so short a delay to
 good account, as well as gratify the
 eror; on whom, it was alledged, they
 at to rely much more than on her ma-
 . One of The States likewise told the
 "That the same person employed by
 e duke was then in conference with the
 agistrates of *Rotterdam* (which town had
 eclared for the continuance of the war),
 assure them, if they would hold off a
 ttle, they should see an unexpected turn
 n the *British* parliament: That the duke
 f *Marlborough* had a list of the discontented
 members in both houses, who were ready
 o turn against the court: And, to crown
 all, that his grace had certain intelligence
 of the queen being in so ill a state of health,
 as made it impossible for her to live above
 six weeks." So restless and indefatigable is

aint The States General of that great event;
 his return, he was made captain general; and,
 ec. 14, duke of *Marlborough*; in 1704 he was
 made a prince of the Empire, and the following
 ear had *Mildenheim* assigned to him for his princi-
 ality. In 1711, finding the queen's prepossession
 against his duchess was not to be overcome, he
 carried a surrender of all her places to the queen.
 His own dismissal has been already related, p. 50,
 of this volume. He died in 1722. N.

avarice

avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge !

But representations which had been so often tried were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majesty's plan; and the further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating peculiar to the *French*; whose plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with obstinacy upon many points which at *Paris* *Monf. De Torcy* had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Port Longue*, on the *Tuscan* coast, should be delivered to him by *France*; and, lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the queen, as well as *France*, thought that his Imperial majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of *Naples* and *Milan*: and to restore those territories in *Italy* which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of suffering the elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

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treaty; by which n
would become gua
The courier last
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ing a period to th
the lord privy-seal
gave notice to the m
"That their lord
"the 31st instant,

the middle of *March* 1712-13, a courier
 ed at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the plan
 general peace, as it had been agreed be-
 the duke of *Shrewsbury* and Monf. *De*
 ; wherein every particular relating to
 interests and pretensions of the several
 was brought so near to what each of
 would accept, that the *British* plenipo-
 ries hoped the peace would be general
 in or twelve days. The *Portuguese* and
 b were already prepared, and others were
 coming in, by means of their lordships
 offices, who found Monf. *Mesnager* and
 colleague very stubborn to the last. Ano-
 courier was dispatched to *France*, upon
 disputes about inserting the titles of her
 ty and the most Christian king; and to
 a general plan for the interests of those
 who should not be ready against the
 prefixed. The *French* renunciations
 now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was
 ed that those, as well as that of the king
 pain, should be inserted at length in every
 y; by which means the whole confederacy
 ld become guarantees of them.
 he courier last sent to *France* returned to
 icht on the 27th of *March*, with the con-
 ons of that court upon every necessary
 t; so that, all things being ready for put-
 a period to this great and difficult work,
 lord privy-seal and the earl of *Strafford*
 e notice to the ministers of the several allies,
 hat their lordships had appointed *Tuesday*
 e 31st instant, wherein to sign a treaty of
 “ peace

“ peace and a treaty of commerce, between
 “ the queen of *Great Britain*, their mistress,
 “ and the most Christian king; and hoped the
 “ said allies would be prepared at the same
 “ time to follow their example.” Accord-
 ingly their lordships employed the three in-
 tervening days, in smoothing the few diffi-
 culties that remained between the *French* mi-
 nisters and those of the several confederate
 powers.

The important day being now come, the
 lord bishop of *Bristol* and the earl of *Strafford*,
 having assumed the character of ambassadors
 extraordinary^z, gave a memorial in behalf of
 the *French* Protestants to the mareschal *De*
Uxelles and his colleague, who were to
 transmit it to their court; and these delivered
 to the *British* ambassadors a declaration in
 writing, that the pretender was actually gone
 out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the
 emperor and the empire, as adjusted between
Britain and *France*, were now likewise de-
 livered to the count *Zinzendorf*. These and
 some other previous matters of smaller con-
 sequence being finished, the treaties of peace
 and commerce between her majesty of *Britain*
 and the most Christian king were signed at the
 lord privy seal's house, between two and three
 of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers
 of the duke of *Savoy* signed about an hour

^z To avoid ceremony, they had hitherto been
 styled only plenipotentiaries. N.

after,

Then the asse
 of *Strafford*;
 and about ni
 by the ministe
 of *Prussia* at eleven
 night by The Sta
 Thus, after all th
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 who presided
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 prolong the war; a
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 nister at *Utrecht*;
 her majesty and th
 by the lord *Lex*
 marquis of *Mon*
 the duke *D'Ossur*
 some days after

Then the assembly adjourned to the *Strafford's*, where they all went to; and about nine at night the peace was by the ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Russia* at eleven, and when it was near night by The States.

is, after all the opposition raised by a party in *France*, and by a virulent party in *Britain*; after all the artifices of those who presided at *The Hague*, and, for private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England*, to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty invalid; the firm steady conduct of the queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministers, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day, by the power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for his Imperial majesty liked his situation too well to think of a change, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negociation, the king of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no manner at *Utrecht*; but the differences between his majesty and that prince were easily settled by the lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the duke of *Monteleon* here: so that, upon the duke *D'Ossuna's* arrival at the congress, a few days after the peace, he was ready to conclude

conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholic majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between *Britain* and *France* were ratified here on the 7th of *April*^a; on the 28th, the ratifications

^a It is well known that this treaty was, in the next reign, the subject of parliamentary inquiry. On the 9th of *June*, 1715, a Report was made from the Committee of Secrecy (by their chairman Mr. *Walpole*), to which the curious reader may have ready recourse among the printed public Records. In this Report a Letter from the earl of *Oxford* to his royal mistress is introduced, in the following remarkable words :

“ May it please your majesty, *June 9, 1714.*
 “ I presume, in obedience to your royal com-
 “ mands, to lay before your majesty a state of your
 “ affairs. Though I have very much contracted it
 “ from the draught I made, and the vouchers
 “ from whence it is taken; yet I find it swell un-
 “ der my pen in transcribing; being willing to
 “ put every thing before your majesty in the clear-
 “ est light my poor understanding can attain to.
 “ It was necessary to lay it before your majesty in
 “ the series of time, from the beginning, to this
 “ present time; and when that is completely
 “ laid before you, it remains only for me to beg
 “ God to direct your majesty. And as to myself,
 “ do with me what you please; place me either
 “ as a figure or a cypher; displace me, or replace
 “ me,

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 ... John to be a V
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 ... lady Masbam, a
 ... It did avail very
 ... he had got in h
 ... ated with the
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ns were exchanged; and on the 5th of
ne peace was proclaimed in the usual
manner;

as that best suits your majesty's occasions.
shall ever find me, with utmost devotion,
without any reserve, Madam,
most dutiful, most faithful, most humble,
most obedient subject, and unworthy servant,

“ OXFORD.”

state mentioned by his lordship is thus in-

“ A brief Account of public Affairs,
August the 8th, to the present 8th of *June*
4. To which is added, the State of Affairs
ad, as they relate to this Kingdom; with
humble Proposals for securing the future
quillity of her Majesty's Reign, and the
ty of the Kingdom.” The true cause of the
understanding between the Lords *Oxford* and
Brooke appears clearly in this account, and
as what *Dr. Swift* has advanced in vol.

. 74. “ On the creation of the twelve new
s, it was proposed to Mr. Secretary, that,
e would be contented to stay in the house
commons that session, her majesty would
e the goodness to create him a peer, and
t he should not lose his rank. After the
ion was ended, the queen, as she had promi-
s, ordered a warrant for Mr. Secretary *St.*
John to be a Viscount: this happened to put
n in the utmost rage against the Treasurer,
by Masham, and without sparing the greatest.
did avail very little to tell him how much
had got in his place; for, had he been cre-
ed with the other lords, it would have fallen
his share to have come next after lord *Tre-*

“ *wer.*

manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

“*vor.* But the treasurer with great patience bore
 “ all the storm, of which lord *Massham* was often
 “ a witness of the outrageous speeches; and Mr.
 “ *Moor* very lately told the treasurer, that lord
 “ *Bolingbroke* said very lately to him, that *he owed*
 “ *him a revenge* on that head. This discontent
 “ continued until there happened an opportunity of
 “ sending him to *France*; of which there was
 “ not much occasion: but it was hoped that this
 “ would have put him in good humour; which it
 “ did, until, in *October, 1712*, there were knights
 “ of the *Garter* made. This created a new dis-
 “ turbance, which is too well remembered, and
 “ breaks out now very often in outrageous expres-
 “ sions publicly against all then made.” This ac-
 count of lord *Oxford*, with the whole Report in
 which it is inserted (and a second Report of *Aug-*
ust 19, 1715) should be attentively perused by all
 who wish to be impartially acquainted with the his-
 tory of this remarkable period. They were printed
 in 1715, in 12mo, by Mr. *Tonson*; but have lately
 been reprinted by the House of Commons, with the
 other Reports of that honourable House.—The earl
 of *Oxford* was removed from the office of treasur-
 er at the latter end of *July 1714*, only three days
 before the death of the queen. See Vol. XV.
 p. 45, of this collection. N.

MISCE

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IN

PROSE AND VERSE:

BEING

AN APPENDIX

TO

THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

MISCELLANEOUS
PROSE AND POETRY
T. A. N. A. P. B. N. D. I. X.
THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME

P R E

T H E

WILLIAM T

THE two former
Discontents,
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Printed in the
Works, 8vo, 1760,
Temple was descended
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He was born
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the state, died in
year. See his Life
Collection of his W

P R E F A C E

T O

THE THIRD PART

O F

WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEA.

THE two following Essays, *Of popular Discontents*, and *Of Health and long* were written many years before the author's death. They were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a *Third Miscellanea*, to which others were to have been added, if the

printed in the Collection of Sir William's Works, 8vo, 1760, vol. III. p. 32. Sir William was descended from a younger branch of the family of the Temples, of Temple Hall, in Leicestershire. He was born at London in 1628; and, after passing through several honourable departments in the State, died in January 1698, in his seventieth year. See his Life and Character, prefixed to the Edition of his Works. N.

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latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about *Ancient and Modern Learning*, I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the Author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two Essays intended to have been written upon the *Different Conditions of Life and Fortune*, and upon *Conversation*. I have directed they should be printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the first draught of any thing from this Author's hand^b.

At the end I have added a few translations from *Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus*, or rather Imitations, done by the Author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed, among other Eclogues of *Virgil*, in the year 1679, but without any mention of the Author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and those very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the Reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

^b This may justly be applied to such parts of Dr. Swift's Works as may to some Readers appear exceptionable. N.

P R E

THE T

Sir WILLIAM

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P R E F A C E

T O

THE THIRD PART

O F

WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS^c.

It was perfectly in compliance to some persons for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think that the freedom of some passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs which are here related could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But whether this objection is in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those

^c Printed in his Works, vol. II. p. 483.

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transactions,

transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this Author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly of the late earl of *Sunderland*^d, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent lord, now secretary of state: as likewise, of the present earl of *Rocheſter*^e; and the earl of *Godolphin*^f, now lord treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a part in the prime-ministry; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the queen's honour and his own, and to the

^d *Robert Spencer* (son of *Henry*, who was slain at the battle of *Newberry*), secretary of state to king *Charles II.* in 1679, and again in 1682. In 1685, he was continued as secretary, and made president of the council, by king *James II.* He retired from business in 1698; and died *September 28, 1702*; and was succeeded in his titles by his son *Charles Spencer*, whose character may be seen in this volume, p. 23. N.

^e See vol. VIII. p. 128. N.

^f See above, p. 22. 125. N.

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e confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes
d to have been offered against those Me-
s that were printed in the Author's life-
, and which these now published may per-
be equally liable to. First, as to the
er; that the Author speaks too much of
elf: next, as to the style; that he affects
use of *French* words, as well as some
s of expression peculiar to that language.
believe, those who make the former criti-
do not well consider the nature of Me-
s: it is to the *French* (if I mistake not)
chiefly owe that manner of writing; and
William Temple is not only the first, but I
k the only *Englishman* (at least of any
equence) who ever attempted it. The
French Memoirs are written by such per-
as were the principal actors in those trans-
ons they pretend to relate, whether of
s or negociations. Those of Sir *William*
Temple are of the same nature; and therefore,
y judgement, the publisher (who sent them
the world without the Author's privity)
e them a wrong title, when he called them
memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c.;
reas it should rather have been, *Memoirs*
of the Treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly
sense of the Author, who, in the Epistle,
s his Son, that, "in compliance with his
esire, he will leave him some Memoirs of
hat passed in his public employments
R 3 "abroad;"

“abroad;” and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says, “It is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty;” where he and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* were the only mediators that continued any considerable time: and as the Author was first in commission; so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those Memoirs, therefore, are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the Author had the principal as well as the most honourable part, in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excuseable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers; because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the Author was in chief confidence with the King his master. To which may be added, That, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the Author professes he writ those papers “for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs &c.” As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in *French* words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of *Nimeguen*, all business,

g Sir *W. Temple* says, “From this present February, 1680, 1.” N.

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er by writing or discourse, passed in the
cb tongue; and the Author having lived
 many years abroad, in that and former em-
 es, where all business as well as conver-
 n ran in that language, it was hardly
 ble for him to write upon public affairs
 out some tincture of it in his style,
 gh in his other writings there be little or
 ing of it to be observed: and, as he has
 n assured me, it was a thing he never
 eted; so, upon the objections made to his
 ner Memoirs, he blotted out some *French*
 ds in these, and placed *English* in their
 d, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the
 der, why these Memoirs are called the *Third*
rt; their having never been published but
 part before, where, in the beginning, the
 thor mentions a former part, and in the
 clusion promises a third. The subject of
 first part was chiefly the Triple Alliance,
 ring the negociation of which my lord *Ar-*
gton was secretary of state and chief mi-
 ter. Sir *William Temple* often assured me,
 had burnt those Memoirs; and for that
 son was content his letters during his em-
 lies at *The Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle* should
 printed after his death, in some manner to
 pply that loss.

What it was that moved Sir *William Temple*
 burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be
 njectured from some passages in the second
 rt, formerly printed: in one place, the Au-
 thor

thor has these words, "My lord *Arlington*^h,
 "who made so great a figure in the former
 "part of these Memoirs, was now grown
 "out of all credit," &c. In other parts, he
 tells us, "That lord was of the ministry
 "which broke the triple league; advised the
 "*Dutch* war and *French* alliance; and, in
 "short, was at the bottom of all those rui-
 "nous measures which the court of *England*
 "was then taking." So that, as I have been
 told from a good hand, and as it seems very
 probable, he could not think that lord a
 person fit to be celebrated for his part in for-
 warding that famous league while he was
 secretary of state, who had made such coun-
 terpaces to destroy it. At the end I have
 subjoined an Appendix, containing, besides
 one or two other particulars, a speech of
 Sir *William Temple's* in the house of com-
 mons, and an answer of the king's to an
 address of that house relating to the Bill of
 exclusion, both which are mentioned in these
 Memoirs.

I have only further to inform the reader,
 that, although these papers were corrected
 by the Author, yet he had once intended to
 insert some additions in several places, as ap-

^h *James Bennet*, created baron *Arlington* of *Ar-*
lington, March 14, 1664; viscount *Thetford*, and
 earl of *Arlington*, April 22, 1672; lord chamber-
 lain of the household to king *Charles II*, 1674.
 He died in 1685. N.

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SIR W. TEM-
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 ing to Sir *Willi-*
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by certain hints or memorandums in margin; but whether they were omitted of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of, I cannot determine: one passage re- to Sir *William Jones* he was pleased to e, and I have added it in the Appendix. lest I know nothing of; but the thread of ory is entire without them.

DEDICATION:

TO

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

TO His most Sacred Majesty *William III*,
King of *England, Scotland, France*, and
Ireland, &c. These Letters of Sir *William*
Temple having been left to my care, they are
most humbly presented to your Majesty, by

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful

and obedient Subject,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

i See Sir *W. Temple's Works*, vol. I. p. 221.
"The dedication was neglected; nor did his ma-
"jesty take the least notice of him after Sir *William*
"Temple's death." ORRERY'S *Remarks*, p. 19.
3d edit.

PRE-

P R E F A C E

T O

THE FIRST PART

O F

WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. *Thomas* *Anton*, who was one of Sir *William Temple*'s secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date. And it has succeeded very happily for the publick; that there is contained in them an account of all the chief actions and negociations which passed in England during the seven years wherein they are dated; as the war from *Holland*; which began in 1665; the treaty between his Majesty and the bishop of *Munster*; with the conclusion of it; the *French* invasion of *Flanders* in the year 1667; the peace concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal* by the king's mediation; the treaty at *Breda*; the *Triple Alliance*; the peace

peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the first part : and, in the second part, the negociations in *Holland* in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay ; the journey and death of Madame ; the seizure of *Lorrain*, and his excellency's recalling, with the first unkindness between *England* and *Holland*, upon the yacht's transporting his lady and family ; and the beginning of the second *Dutch* war in 1672.

With these are intermixed several letters familiar and pleasant.

I found the book among Sir *William Temple's* papers, with many others ; wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part, than the care that Mr. *Downton's* book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the *Latin*, *French*, and *Spanish* : these I took care should be translated, and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever fault there may be in the translation, I doubt, I must answer for the greater part ; and must leave the rest to those friends who where pleased to assist me. I speak only of the *French* and *Latin* ; for the few *Spanish* translations, I believe, need no apology.

It is generally believed that this Author has advanced our *English* tongue to as great a perfection

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on as it can well bear^k; and yet how great
 after he was of it, as I think, never appeared
 such as it will in the following letters;
 in the style appears so very different, ac-
 cording to the difference of the persons to
 whom they were addressed; either men of bu-
 siness, or idle; of pleasure, or serious; of
 great or of less parts or abilities, in their seve-
 rations: so that one may discover the cha-
 racters of most of those persons he writes to,
 from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume is added a col-
 lection, copied by the same hand, of several
 letters to this ambassador, from the chief per-
 sons employed, either at home or abroad, in
 transactions, and during six years course
 of his negotiations^l; among which are many
 from the pensionary *John De Witt*, and all the

How admirably the Dean followed, or rather
 copied upon, this excellent pattern, his own
 letters abundantly evince. N.

“Letters from Foreign Ministers to their
 Courts, and from their Courts to them, are, if
 genuine, the best and most authentic records you
 can read; as far as they go. Cardinal *D'Ossat's*,
 Resident *Jeannin's*, *D'Estrade's*, and Sir *William*
Temple's, will not only inform your mind, but
 form your style; which, in letters of business,
 should be very plain and simple, but at the same
 time exceedingly clear, correct, and pure.” *Chef-*
field, Letter CCXLVIII. In Letter CCXXXIV,
 Lordship says, “Cardinal *D'Ossat's* Letters are
 the true Letters of business; those of Mons.
Avaux are excellent; Sir *W. Temple's* are very
 pleasing, but, I fear, too affected.” N.

VOL. XVIII. S writings

writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that minister, so renowned in his time.

It has been justly complained of as a defect among us, that the *English* tongue has produced no letters of any value^m; to supply which, it has been the vein of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though I think with little success; yet, among many advantages which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of story, as Letters are, which describe actions while they are breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead: so as it hath been observed, that the epistles of *Cicero* to *Atticus* give a better account of those times than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following Letters, the Reader will every where discover the force and spirit of this Author; but that which will most value them to the publick, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation whereon all the wars and invasions as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised: and next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all those transactions and negotiations.

By residing in his family, I know the Author has had frequent instances from several

^m The Dean's very extensive EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE may now be appealed to, as an ample answer to any such complaint. N.

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persons, both at home and abroad, to
 wish some Memoirs of those affairs and
 actions which are the subject of the fol-
 lowing papers; and particularly of the treaties
 the *Triple Alliance*, and those of *Aix-la-
 Chapelle*. But his usual answer was, "That
 whatever Memoirs he had written of those
 affairs and negociations were burnt; how-
 ever, that perhaps after his death some papers
 might come out, wherein there would be
 some account of them." By which, as he
 often told me, he meant these Letters.

He had begun to fit them for the press during
 the Author's life, but never could prevail for
 him to publish them; though he was pleased
 to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give
 his directions for digesting them in order.
 As since pleased God to take this great and
 good person to himself; and he having done
 the honour to leave and recommend to me
 the care of his writings, I thought I could
 at present do a greater service to my coun-
 try or to the Author's memory, than by
 printing these papers public.

By way of introduction, I need only take
 notice, that, after the peace of the *Pyrenees*,
 his majesty's happy restoration in 1660,
 there was a general peace in Christendom (ex-
 cept only the remainder of a war between
Spain and *Portugal*) until the year 1665, when
 the war between *England* and *Holland* began,
 which produced a treaty between his majesty
 and the bishop of *Munster*. And this com-
 mences the following Letters.

P R E F A C E

T O

THE SECOND PART.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could; but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of *this Volume*. To which end, I have omitted several Letters addressed to persons with whom this Author corresponded without any particular confidence, further than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine), have been already printed: but

ⁿ Printed in the 8vo edition, vol. IV. p. 1.

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ing wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than what the reputation of the Author give them. If I could have foreseen and of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forbore sending into the world. But I daily hear, that discoveries of *original* Letters are hastening the press: to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I desired. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the Reader, that these Letters, ending with the Author's revocation from his employments abroad (which in less than two years followed by his retirement from all public offices^o), are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself in great numbers, yet lying among his papers.

I could have been prevailed with by the trick of Bookfellers, or any other little arts, I might easily; instead of retrenching, have made very considerable *additions*; but by that means have perhaps taken the wrong course to prevent the interloping of others. But, if the press must needs be loaded, I rather it should not be by my means. I therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a Publisher (an office not so much censure, without the least pretensions to merit or to praise) that, if I have

• In February 1680-1.

not been much deceived by others and myself, the Reader will hardly find one Letter in this Collection unworthy of the Author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use P.

P The same may with great truth be asserted of Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence; and, with very few exceptions, of this whole collection, though extended to twenty-four volumes. N.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MARTIN.

NOW *Jack* and *Martin*, being parted, set
up each for himself. How they tra-
velled over hills and dales, met many disasters,
suffered much for the good cause, and strug-
gled with difficulties and wants, not having
power to lay their head; by all which they
eventually proved themselves to be right
her's sons, and *Peter* to be spurious. Finding

This History was inserted in some former edi-
tions of the *Tale of a Tub*, under the title of
"What follows after Sect. IX. in the Manuscript;"
but in later editions was omitted, by the Dean's di-
ction, in order to remove the censure of those who
gave a construction on it foreign to his design.—As in
these cooler times the whole allegory has been justly
re-estimated, the Reader will doubtless be pleased at
having preserved this part of it from obli-
vion. N.

no shelter near *Peter's* habitation, *Martin* travelled Northwards; and, finding the *Thuringians* and neighbouring people disposed to change, he set up his stage first among them; where, making it his business to cry down *Peter's* powders, plasters, salves, and drugs, which he had sold a long time at a dear rate, allowing *Martin* none of the profit, though he had been often employed in recommending and putting them off; the good people, willing to save their pence, began to hearken to *Martin's* speeches. How several great lords took the hint, and on the same account declared for *Martin*; particularly one, who, not having enough of one wife, wanted to marry a second; and, knowing *Peter* used not to grant such licences but at a swinging price, he struck up a bargain with *Martin*, whom he found more tractable, and who assured him he had the same power to allow such things. How most of the other Northern lords, for their own private ends, withdrew themselves and their dependents from *Peter's* authority, and closed in with *Martin*. How *Peter*, enraged at the loss of such large territories, and consequently of so much revenue, thundered against *Martin*, and sent out the strongest and most terrible of his *bulls* to devour him; but, this having no effect, and *Martin* defending himself boldly and dextrously, *Peter* at last put forth proclamations, declaring *Martin* and all his adherents rebels and traitors, ordaining and requiring all his loving subjects to take up arms, and to kill, burn, and destroy, all and every

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by one of the -, promising large rewards, upon which ensued bloody wars and desolation.

Now *Harry Huff*, lord of *Albion*, one of the greatest bullies of those days, sent a cartel *Martin*, to fight him on a stage, at cudgels, quarter-staff, back-sword, &c. Hence the origin of that genteel custom of *prize-fighting*, well known and practised to this day among these polite islanders, though unknown everywhere else. Now *Martin*, being a bold blustering fellow, accepted the challenge. How they met and fought, to the great diversion of the spectators: and, after giving one another shaken heads, and many bloody wounds and lacerations, how they both drew off victorious; which their example has been frequently imitated by great clerks and others since that time. How *Martin's* friends applauded his victory; and how lord *Harry's* friends commented him on the same score; and particularly lord *Peter*, who sent him a fine feather in his cap, to be worn by him and his successors, as a perpetual mark of his bold defence of lord *Peter's* cause. How *Harry*, elated with his pretended victory over *Martin*, began to huff *Peter* also, and at last downright quarreled with him about a wench. How some of lord *Harry's* tenants, ever fond of changes, began to talk kindly of *Martin*, for which he mauled them soundly; as he did to those that adhered to *Peter*. How he turned some out of house and hold, others he hanged or burnt, &c.

How *Harry Huff*, after a deal of blustering, wenching, and bullying, died; and was succeeded by a good-natured boy, who, giving way to the general bent of his tenants, allowed *Martin's* notions to spread every where and take deep root in *Albion*. How, after his death, the farm fell into the hands of a lady, who was violently in love with lord *Peter*. How she purged the whole country with fire and sword, resolved not to leave the name or remembrance of *Martin*. How *Peter* triumphed, and set up shops again, for selling his own powders, plasters, and salves, which were now called the only true ones, *Martin's* being all declared counterfeit. How great numbers of *Martin's* friends left the country, and, traveling up and down in foreign parts, grew acquainted with many of *Jack's* followers, and took a liking to many of their notions and ways; which they afterwards brought back into *Albion*, now under another landlady, more moderate and more cunning than the former. How she endeavoured to keep friendship both with *Peter* and *Martin*, and trimmed for some time between the two, not without countenancing and assisting at the same time many of *Jack's* followers; but, finding no possibility of reconciling all the three brothers, because each would be master, and allow no other salves, powders, or plasters, to be used but his own, she discarded all three, and set up a shop for those of her own farm, well furnished with powders, plasters, salves, and all other drugs necessary, all right and true, composed according

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ding to receipts made by physicians and apothecaries of her own creating, which they extracted out of *Peter's* and *Martin's* and *Jack's* receipt-books; and of this medley or hodge-podge made up a dispensatory of their own; strictly forbidding any other to be used, and particularly *Peter's*, from which the greatest part of this new dispensatory was stolen. How lady, further to confirm this change, wisely stating her father, degraded *Peter* from the rank he pretended as eldest brother; and set herself in his place as head of the family, and ever after wore her father's old cap, with the fine feather he had got from *Peter* for sending his friend; which has likewise been worn, with no small ostentation, to this day, by all her successors, though declared enemies to *Peter*. How lady *Bess* and her physicians, being told of many defects and imperfections in their new medley dispensatory, resolved on a further alteration, and to purge it from a great deal of *Peter's* trash that still remained in it; but were prevented by her death. How she was succeeded by a North-country farmer, who pretended great skill in managing of farms, though he could never govern his own poor little farm, nor yet this large new one after he got it. How this new landlord, to show his valour and dexterity, fought against enchanters, weeds, giants, and wind-mills, and claimed great honour for his victories, though he oft-times b-sh-t himself when there was no danger. How his successor, no wiser than he, occasioned great disorders by the new

methods he took to manage his farms. How he attempted to establish in his Northern farm the same dispensatory used in the Southern; but miscarried, because *Jack's* powders, pills, salves, and plasters, were there in great vogue.

How the Author finds himself embarrassed for having introduced into his History a new sect, different from the three he had undertaken to treat of; and how his inviolable respect to the sacred number *three* obliges him to reduce these four, as he intends to do all other things, to that number^b; and for that end to drop the former *Martin*, and to substitute in his place lady *Bess's* institution, which is to pass under the name of *Martin* in the sequel of this true History. This weighty point being cleared, the Author goes on, and describes mighty quarrels and squabbles between *Jack* and *Martin*; how sometimes the one had the better, and sometimes the other, to the great desolation of both farms, till at last both sides concur to hang up the landlord, who pretended to die a martyr for *Martin*, though he had been true to neither side, and was suspected by many to have a great affection for *Peter*.

^b "A panegyric Essay upon the number 'THREE' is among the treatises advertised at the beginning of *The Tale of a Tub*. N.

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DIGRESSION, on the nature, usefulness, and necessity, of WARS and QUARRELS.

THIS being a matter of great consequence, the Author intends to treat it methodically, and at large, in a treatise apart; and here to give only some hints of what his large treatise contains. The state of war natural to all creatures. War is an attempt to take by violence from others a part of what they have, and we want. Every man, fully sensible of his own merit, and finding it not duly rewarded by others, has a natural right to take from them all that he thinks due to himself; and every creature, finding its own wants more than those of others, has the same right to take every thing its nature requires. Brutes much more modest in their pretensions this way than men; and mean men more than great ones. The higher one raises his pretensions this way, the more bustle he makes about them; and the more success he has, the greater hero. Thus greater souls, in proportion to their superior merit, claim a greater right to take every thing from meaner folks. This the true foundation of grandeur and heroism, and of the distinction of degrees among men. War therefore necessary, to establish subordination, and to found cities, kingdoms, &c. as also to purge bodies politic of gross humours. Wise princes find it necessary to have wars abroad, to keep peace at home. War, famine, and pestilence, the usual cures for corruptions in bodies politic. A comparison of these three. The Author is to write a panegyrick on each of them. The greatest

greatest part of mankind loves war more than peace. They are but few and mean-spirited that live in peace with all men. The modest and meek of all kinds always a prey to those of more noble or stronger appetites. The inclination to war universal: those that cannot or dare not make war in person, employ others to do it for them. This maintains bullies, bravos, cut-throats, lawyers, foldiers, &c. Most professions would be useless, if all were peaceable. Hence brutes want neither smiths nor lawyers, magistrates nor joiners, soldiers nor surgeons. Brutes, having but narrow appetites, are incapable of carrying on or perpetuating war against their own species, or of being led out in troops and multitudes to destroy one another. These prerogatives proper to man alone. The excellency of human nature demonstrated, by the vast train of appetites, passions, wants, &c. that attend it. This matter to be more fully treated in the Author's Panegyrick on Mankind.



The HISTORY continued.

HOW *Jack*, having got rid of the old landlord, set up another to his mind, quarreled with *Martin*, and turned him out of doors. How he pillaged all his shops, and abolished the whole dispensatory. How the new

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new landlord laid about him, mauled *Peter*, torried *Martin*, and made the whole neighbourhood tremble. How *Jack's* friends fell out among themselves, split into a thousand parties, turned all things topsy-turvey, till every body grew weary of them; and at last, the blustering landlord dying, *Jack* was kicked out of doors, a new landlord brought in, and *Martin* re-established. How this new landlord let *Martin* do what he pleased; and *Martin* agreed to every thing his pious landlord desired, provided *Jack* might be kept low. Of several efforts *Jack* made to raise up his head, but all in vain; till at last the landlord died, and was succeeded by one who was a great friend to *Peter*, who, to humble *Martin*, gave *Jack* some liberty. How *Martin* grew enraged at this, called in a foreigner, and turned out the landlord; in which *Jack* concurred with *Martin*, because this landlord was entirely devoted to *Peter*, into whose arms he threw himself, and left his country. How the new landlord secured *Martin* in the full possession of his former rights, but would not allow him to destroy *Jack*, who had always been his friend. How *Jack* got up his head in the North, and put himself in possession of a whole canton, to the great discontent of *Martin*, who, finding, also that some of *Jack's* friends were allowed to live and get their bread in the South parts of the country, grew highly discontent with the new landlord he had called in to his assistance. How this landlord kept *Martin* in order; upon which he fell into a raging fever, and swore

swore he would hang himself, or join in with *Peter*, unless *Jack's* children were all turned out to starve. Of several attempts made to cure *Martin*, and make peace between him and *Jack*, that they might unite against *Peter*; but all made ineffectual by the great address of a number of *Peter's* friends, that herded among *Martin's*, and appeared the most zealous for his interest. How *Martin*, getting abroad in this mad fit, looked so like *Peter* in his air and dress, and talked so like him, that many of the neighbours could not distinguish the one from the other; especially when *Martin* went up and down strutting in *Peter's* armour, which he had borrowed to fight *Jack*. What remedies were used to cure *Martin's* distemper, &c.

N. B. Some things that follow after this are not in the MS. but seem to have been written since, to fill up the place of what was not thought convenient then to print.



SECT. XI.

The TALE OF A TUB continued.

THE Author, not in haste to be at home, shews the difference between a traveler weary or in haste, and another in good plight, that

that takes his pleasure in his adventures. His Holy Scripture. His flaming to the decrees. He comes of devotion. and speech. His groaning, and a case. The Jack made the where they often. The degenera for a sufficient senses and passion is that his Readers so lost, &c.

Of the prop Of profound Sleep and the for the Auth and Reason Author's great use till now.

takes his pleasure, and views every pleasure in his way. The sequel of *Jack's* adventures. His superstitious veneration for Holy Scripture, and the uses he made of His flaming zeal, and blind submission to the decrees. His harangue for predestination. He covers roguish tricks with a show of devotion. Affects singularity in manners and speech. His aversion to musick and dancing. His discourses provoke sleep. His ananias, and affecting to suffer for the good cause. The great antipathy of *Peter* and *Jack* made them both run into extremes, where they often met.

The degenerate ears of this age cannot afford a sufficient handle to hold men by. The senses and passions afford many handles. Curiosity is that by which our Author has held Readers so long. The rest of the story is, &c.



THE CONCLUSION.

Of the proper Seasons for publishing Books. Of profound writers. Of the ghost of Wit. Deep and the Muses nearly related. Apology for the Author's fits of Dulness. Method and Reason the lacquies of Invention. Our author's great collection of Flowers of little use till now.

A Dis-



A DISCOURSE concerning the MECHANICAL
OPERATION of the SPIRIT^c.

THE Author, at a loss what title to give this piece, finds after much pains that of *A Letter to a Friend* to be most in vogue. Of modern excuses for haste and negligence, &c.

SECT. I. *Mahomet's* fancy, of being carried to heaven by an ass, followed by many Christians. A great affinity between this creature and man. That talent of bringing his rider to heaven the subject of this discourse: but for Ass and Rider, the Author uses the synonymous terms of Enlightened Teacher and Fanatic Hearer. A tincture of Enthusiasm runs through all men and all sciences; but prevails most in Religion. Enthusiasm defined and distinguished. That which is Mechanical and Artificial is treated of by our Author. Though Art oft-times changes into Nature: examples in the *Scythian* Long-heads and *English* Round-heads. Sense and Reason must be laid aside, to let this Spirit operate. The objections about the manner of the Spirit from above descending on the Apostles, make not against this Spirit that

^c The Discourse itself (of which this is only a summary) is printed at the end of vol. I. N.

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es within. The methods by which the
sembly helps to work up this Spirit, jointly
th the Preacher.

sect. II. How some worship a good Being,
ers an evil. Most people confound the
ands of good and evil. Vain mortals think
Divinity interested in their meanest actions.
e scheme of spiritual mechanism left out.
the usefulness of quilted night-caps, to
ep in the heat, to give motion and vigour
the little animals that compose the brain.
und of far greater use than sense in the
erations of the Spirit, as in Musick. In-
ard light consists of theological monosyl-
bles and mysterious texts. Of the great
rce of one vowel in canting; and of blow-
g the nose, hauking, spitting, and belching.
he Author to publish an *Essay on the Art of*
canting. Of speaking through the nose, or
uffling: its origin from a disease occasioned
a conflict betwixt the Flesh and the Spirit.
nspired vessels, like lanterns, have a sorry
oty outside. Fanaticism deduced from the
ncients, in their *Orgies, Bacchanals, &c.*
f their great lasciviousness on those occasions.
The Fanatics of the first centuries and those
f later times generally agree in the same
rinciple, of improving spiritual into carnal
jaculations, &c.



A PROJECT,

For the universal Benefit of MANKIND.

THE Author, having laboured so long and done so much to serve and instruct the publick, without any advantage to himself, has at last thought of a project, which will tend to the great benefit of all mankind, and produce a handsome revenue to the author. He intends to print by subscription, in 96 large volumes in *folio*, an exact description of *Terra Australis incognita*, collected with great care and pains from 999 learned and pious authors, of undoubted veracity. The whole work, illustrated with maps and cuts agreeable to the subject, and done by the best masters, will cost but two guineas each volume to subscribers, one guinea to be paid in advance, and afterwards a guinea on receiving each volume, except the last. This work will be of great use for all men, and necessary for all families; because it contains exact accounts of all the provinces, colonies, and mansions of that spacious country, where, by a general doom, all transgressors of the law are to be transported: and every one having this work may chuse out the

the fittest and being enough fully satisfied

The author work will be or out of the church in the dominions every family per annum, necessary exp He does not volumes year ber requisit 100,000 for Proposals ag and a curio its twelve g took an exa sidering the thor, and hopes every good as we to it; and have by it, or fourth soon.

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the fittest and best place for himself, there being enough for all, so as every one shall be fully satisfied,

The author supposes that one copy of this work will be bought, at the public charge, or out of the parish rates, for every parish-church in the three kingdoms, and in all the dominions thereunto belonging; and that every family that can command ten pounds *per annum*, even though retrenched from less necessary expences, will subscribe for one. He does not think of giving out above nine volumes yearly; and, considering the number requisite, he intends to print at least 100,000 for the first edition. He is to print Proposals against next Term, with a specimen, and a curious map of the capital city, with its twelve gates, from a known author, who took an exact survey of it in a dream. Considering the great care and pains of the author, and the usefulness of the work, he hopes every one will be ready, for their own good as well as his, to contribute chearfully to it; and not grudge him the profit he may have by it, especially if it comes to a third or fourth edition, as he expects it will very soon.

He doubts not but it will be translated into foreign languages, by most nations of *Europe*, as well as of *Asia* and *Africa*, being of as great use to all those nations as to his own; for this reason, he designs to procure patents and privileges, for securing the whole benefit to himself, from all those different princes
and

and states; and hopes to see many millions of this great work printed, in those different countries and languages, before his death.

After this business is pretty well established, he has promised to put a friend on another project almost as good as this; by establishing insurance-offices every where, for securing people from shipwreck, and several other accidents, in their voyage to this country; and these offices shall furnish, at a certain rate, pilots well versed in the route, and that know all the rocks, shelves, quicksands, &c. that such pilgrims and travelers may be exposed to. Of these he knows a great number ready instructed in most countries: but the whole scheme of this matter he is to draw up at large, and communicate to his friend.

Here ends the Manuscript.

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SOME THOUGHTS

ON

FREE-THINKING.

Written in *England*, but left unfinished.

Discourſing one day with a prelate of the kingdom of *Ireland*, who is a perſon of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the ſubject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and ſight. He ſaid, that the difference betwixt a mad-man and one by his wits, in what related to ſpeech, conſiſted in this; that the former poke out whatever came into his mind, and aſt in the confuſed manner as his imagination preſented the ideas: the latter only expreſſed ſuch thoughts as his judgement directed him to chuſe; leaving the reſt to die away in his memory; and that, if the wiſeſt man would at any time utter his thoughts in the crude undigeſted manner as they come into his head, he would be looked upon as raving mad. And indeed, when we conſider our thoughts, as they are the ſeeds of words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the ſtricteſt regulation; and that, in the great multiplicity of ideas which one's mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to ſelect thoſe which are moſt proper

proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in some people for asserting the freedom of thinking; because, if such thinkers keep their thoughts within their own breasts, they can be of no consequence, further than to themselves. If they publish them to the world, they ought to be answerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thousands in this kingdom, who, in their thoughts, prefer a republick, or absolute power of a prince, before a limited monarchy; yet, if any of these should publish their opinions, and go about, by writing or discourse, to persuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the severest punishments the law can inflict: and therefore they are usually so wise as to keep their sentiments to themselves. But, with respect to religion, the matter is quite otherwise: and the publick, at least here in *England*, seems to be of opinion with *Tiberius*, that *deorum injuriæ diis cura*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himself, who is no doubt sufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And it should seem that is what princes expect from him; though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon; nor why, since they are God's vicerents, they do not think themselves, at least, equally obliged to preserve their Master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they

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ver fail to represent the disobedience of
 eir subjects as offences against God. It is
 ae, the visible reason of this neglect is ob-
 ous enough: the consequences of atheistical
 inions published to the world are not so
 mediate, or so sensible, as doctrines of re-
 llion and sedition, spread in a proper season.
 owever, I cannot but think the same con-
 quences are as natural and probable for the
 rmer, though more remote: and whether
 ese have not been in view among our great
 anters of infidelity in *England*, I shall here-
 ter examine.

T

A SKETCH

A S K E T C H
O F
T H E C H A R A C T E R
O F
A R I S T O T L E ^d.

*A*RISTOTLE, the disciple of *Plato*, and
tutor to *Alexander the Great*. His fol-
lowers were called *Peripateticks* from a Greek
word which signifies *to walk*, because he
taught

^d This fragment is preserved in the *Essay of*
Deane Swift, esq; who tells us, "he transcribed it
" without any variation; and that he found it by
" accident in a little book of instructions which
" *Dr. Swift* was pleased to draw up for the use of
" a lady, enjoining her to get it all by heart."—
Mr. Swift, having mentioned the character given
by the Dean of this philosopher in the *Battle of the*
Books, observes, "*Swift's* portrait of *Aristotle* is
" equally strong and masterly: he stooped much,
" and made use of a staff; that is, he thought, he
" considered, he ruminated; he pondered deeply
" on the most intricate and abstruse points re-
" lating

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Essay, p. 283.
Aristotle, in his *Re*

ight his disciples *walking*. We have not his works, and some of those which are put to him are supposed not genuine. He writ upon logick, or the art of reasoning; upon *moral* and *natural philosophy*; upon *oratory*, *poetry*, &c. and seems to be a person of the most comprehensive genius that ever lived.

lating to the sciences; and, by the force of reasoning, which is meant by his staff, he cleared his way through briars and thorns, until he struck into the road which leads to science and philosophy. The remaining part of *Aristotle's* portrait is only the representation of an abstracted scholar, worn away and decayed with years, hard study, nocturnal lucubrations, and the want of bodily exercise." *Deane Swift's* *Tay*, p. 283. See *Lord Orrery's* opinion of *Aristotle*, in his *Remarks*, p. 111.

T H E
S W E A R E R ' S - B A N K ^a :

O R,

Parliamentary Security for establish-
ing a new Bank in *Ireland*;

Wherein the Medicinal Use of Oaths is
considered.

Written in the Year 1720.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

TO believe every thing that is said by a certain sett of men, and to doubt of nothing they relate, though ever so improbable, is a maxim that has contributed as much, for the time, to the support of *Irish Banks*, as it ever did to the *Popish Religion*: and they are not only beholden to the latter for their foundation, but they have the happiness to have the same patron-saint; for Ignorance, the reputed mother of the devotion of the one, seems to bear the same affectionate relation to the credit of the other.

^a See *A Letter to the King at Arms*, in vol. XVII. of this collection, p. 141.

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To subscribe to Banks, without knowing the scheme or design of them, is not unlike to some gentlemen's signing addresses without knowing the contents of them: To engage in a Bank that has neither act of parliament, charter, nor lands, to support it, is like sending a ship to sea without bottom; to expect a coach and six by the former, would be as ridiculous as to hope a return by the latter.

It was well known some time ago, that our Banks would be included in the Bubble-bill; and it was believed those chimeras would necessarily vanish with the first Easterly wind that should inform the town of the royal dissent.

It was very mortifying to several gentlemen, who dreamt of nothing but easy chariots, on the arrival of the fatal packet, to slip out of them into their walking-shoes. But should those Banks, as it is vainly imagined, be so fortunate as to obtain a charter, and purchase lands; yet, on any run on them in a time of invasion, there would be so many starving proprietors, reviving their old pretensions to land and a belly-full, that the subscribers would be unwilling, upon any call, to part with their money, not knowing what might happen; so that, in a rebellion, where the success was doubtful, the Bank would infallibly break.

Since so many gentlemen of this town have had the courage, without any security, to appear in the same paper with a million or two;

it is hoped, when they are made sensible of their safety, that they will be prevailed to trust themselves in a neat skin of parchment, with a single one.

To encourage them, the undertaker proposes the erecting a Bank on parliamentary security, and such security as no revolution or change of times can affect.

To take away all jealousy of any private view of the undertaker, he assures the world, that he is now in a garret, in a very thin waistcoat, studying the public good; having given an undeniable pledge of his love to his country, by pawning his coat, in order to defray the expence of the press.

It is very well known, that, by an act of parliament to prevent profane swearing, the person so offending, on oath made before a magistrate, forfeits a shilling, which may be levied with little difficulty.

It is almost unnecessary to mention, that this is become a ^b pet-vice among us; and, though age renders us unfit for other vices, yet this, where it takes hold, never leaves us but with our speech.

So vast a revenue might be raised by the execution of this act, that I have often wondered, in such a scarcity of funds, that methods have not been taken to make it serviceable to the publick.

I dare venture to say, if this act was well executed in *England*, the revenue of it, ap-

^b i. e. *A favourite vice.*

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ted to the navy, would make the *English* et a terror to all *Europe*.

It is computed by geographers, that there e two millions in this kingdom (of *Ireland*), which number there may be said to be a illion of swearing souls.

It is thought there may be five thousand gentlemen; every gentleman, taking one ith another, may afford to swear an oath ery day, which will yearly produce one illion eight hundred twenty-five thousand ths; which number of shillings makes the early sum of ninety-one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

The farmers of this kingdom, who are mputed to be ten thousand, are able to end yearly five hundred thousand oaths, hich gives twenty-five thousand pounds; nd it is conjectured that, from the bulk of e people, twenty or five-and-twenty thou- and pounds may be yearly collected.

These computations are very modest; since is evident that there is a much greater con- amption of oaths in this kingdom, and con- equently a much greater sum might be yearly aised.

That it may be collected with ease and re- gularity, it is proposed to settle informers in great towns, in proportion to the number of nhabitants, and to have riding-officers in the ountry: and, since nothing brings a greater ontempt on any profession than poverty, it is etermined to settle very handsome salaries on he gentlemen that are employed by the Bank, that

that they may, by a generosity of living, reconcile men to an office that has lain under so much scandal of late, as to be undertaken by none but curates, clerks of meeting-houses, and broken tradesmen.

It is resolved, that none shall be preferred to those employments, but persons that are notorious for being constant churchmen, and frequent communicants; whose piety will be a sufficient security for their honest and industrious execution of their office.

It is very probable that twenty thousand pounds will be necessary, to defray all expences of servants, salaries, &c. However, there will be the clear yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds, which may very justly claim a million subscription.

It is determined to lay out the remaining unapplied profits, which will be very considerable, towards the erecting and maintaining charity-schools. A design so beneficial to the publick, and especially to the Protestant interest of this kingdom, has met with so much encouragement from several great patriots in *England*, that they have engaged to procure an act to secure the sole benefit of informing, on this Swearing-act, to the agents and servants of this new Bank. Several of my friends pretend to demonstrate, that this Bank will in time vie with the *South Sea* company: they insist, that the army dispend as many oaths yearly as will produce one hundred thousand pounds nett.

There are computed to be one hundred pretty fellows in this town, that swear fifty oaths

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as a head daily; some of them would think
ard to be stinted to an hundred: this very
ch would produce a vast sum yearly.

The FAIRS of this kingdom will bring in a
revenue; the oaths of a little *Connaught*
as well as they could be numbered by
persons, amounted to three thousand. It
true, that it would be impossible to turn all
them into ready money; for a shilling is so
at a duty on swearing, that, if it was care-
ly exacted, the common people might as
ll pretend to drink wine as to swear; and
oath would be as rare among them as a
an shirt.

A servant, that I employed to accompany
the militia their last muster-day, had scored
own, in the compass of eight hours, three
ndred oaths; but, as the putting of the act
execution on those days would only fill the
cks with porters, and pawn-shops with mus-
ts and swords; and as it would be matter
great joy to Papists and disaffected persons,
see our militia swear themselves out of their
ans and swords; it is resolved that no advan-
ge shall be taken of any militia-man's swear-
g while he is under arms: nor shall any
dvantage be taken of any man's swearing
the Four Courts, provided he is at
earing in the Exchequer, or has just paid off
n attorney's bill.

The Medicinal use of oaths is what the un-
ertaker would by no means discourage, espe-
ially where it is necessary to help the lungs
o throw off any distilling humour. On cer-
tificate

tificate of a course of swearing prescribed by any physician, a permit will be given to the patient, by the proper officer of the Bank, paying no more than six pence. It is expected, that a scheme of so much advantage to the publick will meet with more encouragement than their chimerical Banks; and the undertaker hopes that as he has spent a considerable fortune in bringing this scheme to bear, he may have the satisfaction to see it take place, for the public good, though he should have the fate of most projectors to be undone.

It is resolved, that no compositions shall be made, nor licences granted, for swearing, under a notion of applying the money to pious uses; a practice so scandalous as is fit only for the see of *Rome*, where the money arising from whoring-licences is applied *ad propagandam fidem*: and, to the shame of *Smock Alley*, and of all Protestant whores (especially those who live under the light of the Gospel-ministry), be it spoken, a whore in *Rome* never lies down, but she hopes it will be the means of converting some poor Heathen or Heretick.

The swearing-revenues of the town of *Cork* will be given for ever, by the Bank, to the support of poor clergymens widows; and those of *Ringsend* will be allowed to the maintenance of sailors bastards.

The undertaker designs, in a few days, to appoint time and place for taking subscriptions; the subscribers must come prepared to pay down one fourth on subscribing.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

THE *Jews* of *Rotterdam* have offered to
 m the revenues of *Dublin* at twenty thou-
 id pounds *per annum*. Several eminent
takers are also willing to take them at that
 at; but the undertaker has rejected their
 oposals, being resolved to deal with none but
ristians.

Application may be made to him about
 em, any day, at *Pat's* Coffee-house, where
 endance will be given.

A L E T.

324
A
LETTER of ADVICE

TO
A Young POET;

Together with a PROPOSAL for the Encouragement of POETRY in IRELAND.

Written in *December 1720.*

*Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit —* HOR.

SIR,

AS I have always professed a friendship for you, and have therefore been more inquisitive into your conduct and studies than is usually agreeable to young men; so, I must own, I am not a little pleased to find, by your last account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to *English* Poetry, with design to make it your profession and business. Two reasons incline me to encourage you in this study; one, the narrowness of your present circumstances; the other, the great use of Poetry

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Vol. XV

try to mankind and society, and in every
 ployment of life. Upon these views, I
 not but commend your wise resolution to
 withdraw so early from other unprofitable and
 ere studies, and betake yourself to that
 ich, if you have good luck, will advance
 ur fortune, and make you an ornament to
 ur friends and your country. It may be
 ur justification, and further encouragement,
 consider, that History, Ancient or Modern,
 not furnish you an instance of one person
 inent in any station, who was not in some
 asure versed in Poetry, or at least a well-
 her to the professors of it; neither would I
 pair to prove, if legally called thereto, that
 s impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or
 yer, or even so much as an eminent bell-man
 ballad-finger, without some taste of Poetry,
 l a competent skill in versification: but I
 the less of this, because the renowned Sir
Sidney has exhausted the subject before
 , in his *Defence of Poesie*; on which I shall
 ke no other remark but this, that he argues
 re as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one
 se since I was at school, where I suffered
 o much for my blunders in Poetry to have
 y love to it ever since, I am not able, from
 y experience of my own, to give you those
 tructions you desire; neither will I declare
 or I love to conceal my passions) how much
 lament my neglect of Poetry in those periods
 my life which were properest for improve-
 ents in that ornamental part of Learning;

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besides, my age and infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualified to be your *writing-master* with spectacles on, and a shaking hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of so much importance to your credit and happiness, I shall here give you some scattered thoughts upon the subject, such as I have gathered by reading and observation.

There is a certain little instrument, the first of those in use with scholars, and the meanest, considering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten-straw (the old *Arcadian* pipe), or just three inches of slender wire, or a stript feather, or a corking-pin. Furthermore, this same diminutive tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, sustains the foremost finger upon its breast, and is itself supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a *fescue*; I shall here therefore condescend to be this little elementary guide, and point out some particulars which may be of use to you in your horn-book of Poetry.

In the first place, I am not yet convinced that it is at all necessary for a modern Poet to believe in God, or have any serious sense of Religion: and in this article you must give me leave to suspect your capacity; because, Religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible, at least not easy, all at once to get over those early prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a great Wit than a good Christian, though herein the

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general practice is against you : so that if, upon inquiry, you find in yourself any such softnesses, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no further business with it in the way of Poetry ; unless you will be content to pass for an insipid, or will submit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or can disguise your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaisance to company.

For Poetry, as it has been managed for some years past, by such as make a business of it and of such only I speak here ; for I do not call him a Poet that writes for his diversion, any more than that Gentleman a fidler who amuses himself with a violin) ; I say, our Poetry of late has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found, by experience of our professors, that the smallest quantity of Religion, like a single drop of malt-liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius.

Religion supposes heaven and hell, the word of God, and sacraments, and twenty other circumstances, which, taken seriously, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and such as a true Poet cannot possibly give into, without saving to his poetical licence ; but yet it is necessary for him that others should believe these things seriously, that his wit may be exercised on their *wisdom* for so doing ; for though a wit need not have religion, religion is necessary to a wit, as an instrument is to the

hand that plays upon it : and for this the moderns plead the example of their great idol *Lucretius*, who had not been by half so eminent a Poet (as he truly was), but that he stood tip-toe on religion, *religio pedibus subjecta*, and, by that rising ground, had the advantage of all the Poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the same pedestal.

Besides, it is further to be observed, that *Petronius*, another of their favourites, speaking of the qualifications of a good Poet, insists chiefly on the *liber spiritus* ; by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant a good invention, or great compass of thought, or a sprightly imagination : but I have learned a better construction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns ; and, taking it literally for a *free spirit*, *i. e.* a spirit, or *mind*, free or *disengaged* from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our present set of Poets are, and hold themselves obliged to be, *Free-thinkers*.

But, although I cannot recommend Religion upon the practice of some of our most eminent *English* Poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their example, to be conversant in the *Scriptures*, and, if possible, to make yourself entirely master of them ; in which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a task of piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great stress upon their authority (in that you may do as you think fit) ; but to read them as a piece of
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ecessary furniture for a *Wit* and a *Poet*; which is a very different view from that of a Christian. For I have made it my observation, that the greatest Wits have been the best Textaries: our modern Poets are, all to a man, almost as well read in the Scriptures as some of our Divines, and often abound more with the phrase. They have read them historically, critically, musically, comically, poetically, and every other way except *religiously*; and have found their account in doing so. For the Scriptures are undoubtedly a fund *of* wit, and a subject *for* wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty *upon* them, or *out* of them: and, to speak the truth, but for them, I know not what our *play-wrights* could do, for images, allusions, similitudes, examples, or even language itself. Shut up the Sacred Books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the stocks did, and ruin half the Poets in these kingdoms. And if that were the case, how could most of that tribe (all, I think, but the immortal *Addison*, who made a better use of his Bible, and a few more), who dealt so freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out a time, and left the present generation of Poets to be the *bubbles*!

But here I must enter one caution, and desire you to take notice, that, in this advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualification that way for poetical *orders*; which I mention, because I find a notion of that kind advanced by

one of our *English* Poets. and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest. He says to *Spencer*, in a pretended Vision,

“ ——— With hands laid on, ordain me fit
“ For the great cure and ministry of wit :”

which passage is, in my opinion, a notable allusion to the Scriptures; and, making (but reasonable) allowances for the *small* circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon blasphemy, is *inimitably* fine; besides some useful discoveries made in it, as, that there are Bishops in Poetry; that these Bishops must ordain young Poets, and with laying on hands; and that Poetry is *a cure of souls*; and, consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be Poets, and too often are so: and indeed, as of old Poets and Priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean, the modest title of *divine Poets*. However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the priesthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The Scriptures then being generally both the fountain and subject of modern wit, I could do no less than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to *human literature*; which yet I say
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ore in compliance with vulgar opinions, than according to my own sentiments: for, indeed, nothing has surprized me more, than to see the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it necessary to be a good Scholar in order to be a good Poet; than which nothing is falser in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I dispute the matter, if any man will undertake to shew me one professed Poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be justly called a *Scholar*; or is the worse *Poet* for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encumbered with the penury of learning. It is true, the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers; which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not sense enough to perceive it was a gross mistake in them. So *Horace* has told us,

“Scribendi recte sapere est & principium &
 “fons,
 “Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere
 “chartæ.”

But to see the different casts of mens heads: some, not inferior to that Poet in understanding (if you will take their own word for it), do see no consequence in this rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle? Many are too *wise* to be Poets, and others too

much Poets to be *wise*. Must a man, forsooth, be no less than a Philosopher to be a Poet, when it is plain that some of the greatest *idiots* of the age are our prettiest performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the judgement and observation of mankind. Sir *Philip Sidney's* notable remark upon this Nation may not be improper to mention here. He says, "In our neighbour country *Ireland*, where true Learning goes very bare, yet are their Poets held in devout reverence;" which shews, that Learning is no way necessary either to the making of a Poet, or judging of him. And further, to see the fate of things, notwithstanding our Learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our Poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence; but are, perhaps, the most contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no less to be wondered at than lamented.

Some of the old Philosophers were Poets (as, according to the forementioned Author, *Socrates* and *Plato* were; which, however, is what I did not know before); but that does not say that all Poets are, or that any need be, Philosophers, otherwise than as those are so called who are a little out at the elbows: in which sense the great *Shakespeare* might have been a Philosopher, but was no Scholar; yet he was an excellent Poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious Critick so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that "*Shakespeare* had been a worse Poet, had he been a better Scholar:" and Sir *W. Davenant*

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ant is another instance in the same kind. Nor must it be forgotten, that *Plato* was an avowed enemy to Poets ; which is, perhaps, the reason why Poets have been always at enmity with his profession ; and have rejected all Learning and Philosophy, for the sake of that one Philosopher. As I take the matter, neither Philosophy nor any part of Learning is more necessary to Poetry (which, if you will believe the same author, is “ the sum of all Learning”) than to know the theory of light, and the several proportions and diversifications of it in particular colours, is to a good painter.

Whereas, therefore, a certain author, called *Petronius Arbiter*, going upon the same mistake, has confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good Poet is, “ *Mens ingenti laterarum flumine inundata* ;” I do, on the contrary, declare, that this his assertion (to speak of it in the softest terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome reflexion on all the Gentlemen-poets of these times ; for, with his good leave, much less than a flood or inundation will serve the turn ; and, to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest Wits in your poetical way have not so much real Learning as would cover a six pence in the bottom of a basin : nor do I think the worse of them ; for, to speak my private opinion, I am for every man’s working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to spring, as

those in a garden do, from their own root and stem, without foreign assistance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain that feeds itself invisibly, than a river that is supplied by several streams from abroad: or, if it be necessary, as the case is with some barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that necessity, I would recommend some of the approved standard authors of antiquity for your perusal, as a Poet and a Wit; because, maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheese, not in the new; and for that reason you must have the Clatlicks, especially the most worm-eaten of them, often in your hands: but with this caution, that you are not to use those Ancients as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conscience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your business is, not to steal *from* them, but to improve *upon* them, and make their sentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and, though difficult, yet very possible, without the scurvy imputation of filching; for I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle, less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe task, to arrive at a competent knowledge of so many
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the Antients as excel in their way; and indeed it would be really so, but for the short and easy method lately found out, of Abstracts, bridgements, Summaries, &c. which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in Authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the Reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of consulting Indexes; which is, to read Books *Hebraically*, and begin where others usually end. And this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with Authors; for Authors are to be used like *lobsters*; you must look for the best meat in the *tails*, and lay the *bodies* back again in the dish. Your cunningest *thieves* (and what else are *Readers*, who only read to *borrow*, i. e. to *steal*?) use to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philosophy; for one of the first rules in logic is, *Finis est primus in intentione*.

The learned world is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious Editor of the *Classicks*^a, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every Author, by his management, sweats under him-

^a Mr. Michael Maittaire published many of the *Latin Classicks*, with a copious Index to each Author.

self, being over-loaded with his own *Index*, and carries, like a North-country-pedlar, all his substance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young Students make their compliments, for so much time and pains saved in the pursuit of useful knowledge; for whoever shortens a road, is a benefactor to the publick, and to every particular person who has occasion to travel that way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my time, than the disuse of some ingenious *little plays*, in fashion with young folks when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age above ours, in composing, was certainly owing; and, if any thing has brought a damp upon the versification of these times, we have no further than this to go for the cause of it. Now, could these sports be happily revived, I am of opinion, your wisest course would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can in those profitable diversions. For example, *Crambo* is of extraordinary use to good rhiming; and rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good Poet: and in that notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid Sir *P. Sidney* has declared, "That the chief life of modern versifying consisteth in the like founding of words, which we call *rhime*;" which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would a sound pipkin; and, if it
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rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without Rhime is a body without a soul (for the "chief life consisteth in the Rhime"), or a bell without a clapper; which, in strictness, is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the same ever-honoured Knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a Poet as one that has "the reverend title of a Rhimer." Our celebrated *Milton* has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoilt as many reverend Rhimers by his example, as he has made real Poets: for which reason, I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing rhime upon *Milton's Paradise Lost*; which will make the Poem, in that only defective, more heroic and sonorous than it has hitherto been. I wish the gentleman success in the performance; and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed, or appear in with greater advantage to his character, so I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the same view, I would recommend to you the witty play of *Pictures and Mottos*, which will furnish your imagination with great store of *images* and suitable *devices*. We of these kingdoms have found our account in this diversion, as little as we consider or acknowledge it; for to this we owe our eminent
felicity

felicity in posies of rings, mottoes of snuff-boxes, the humours of sign-posts with their elegant inscriptions, &c.; in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no, not the *Dutch* themselves, will presume to rival us.

For much the same reason, it may be proper for you to have some insight into the play called, *What is it like?* as of great use in common practice, to quicken slow capacities, and improve the quickest: but the chief end of it is, to supply the fancy with variety of families for all subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness which have not the least imaginable conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very business of a Poet, as his name implies: and let me tell you, a good Poet can no more be without a stock of families by him, than a shoe-maker without his lasts. He should have them sized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his shop, ready for all customers, and shaped to the feet of all sorts of verse: and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful harmony and resemblance between a Poet and a Shoe-maker, in many circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their temples, the stuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they use, &c. but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now I say, if you apply yourself to these diminutive sports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, such as *Draw-gloves*, *Cross-purposes*,

purposes, &c. (rest), it is nature) you will open these devote all your heart as become diversions a ble manage whole business time both for Your own rest you to the ingenious house in the turn equal ticks; as Play-house your book Cato himself curtain: with toler they are the same stage, as Besides the good war himself Add out your modern and of new, and printed

Purposes, Questions and Commands, and the rest), it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them; and then you will act as becomes a wise man, and make even diversions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole business of life at once, and at the same time both *feeds*, and *works*, and *diverts* itself.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every evening amongst the *ingenious*, in the corner of a certain *Coffee-house* in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politics; as likewise to be as frequent at the *Play-house* as you can afford without selling your books. For, in our chaste theatre, even *Cato* himself might sit to the falling of the curtain: besides, you will sometimes meet with tolerable conversation amongst the players; they are such a kind of men as may pass, upon the same sort of capacities, for wits off the stage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Besides that, I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and sell as cheap, as the merchant himself that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furnishing out your shelves with a choice collection of modern Miscellanies, in the gayest edition; and of reading all sorts of Plays, especially the *new*, and, above all, those of our own growth, printed by subscription, in which article of

Irish

Irish manufacture I readily agree to the late proposal, and am altogether for “rejecting” and renouncing every thing that comes “from *England*.” To what purpose should we go thither for coals or poetry, when we have a *vein* within ourselves, equally good and more convenient? *Lastly*,

A *common-place-book* is what a provident Poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial reason, that “great wits have short memories.” And whereas, on the other hand, Poets, being *lyars* by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort is in the nature of a supplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day’s reading or conversation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts (which, a hundred to one, are *few* and *insignificant*), but such of other men as you think fit to make your own by entering them there. For take this for a rule, when an Author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit, as a merchant has for your money when you are in his.

By these few and easy prescriptions (with the help of a good *Genius*), it is possible you may, in a short time, arrive at the accomplishments of a Poet, and shine in that character ^b.

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^b “*Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*, is unquestionably true, with regard to every thing except Poetry; and I am very sure that any
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As for your manner of composing, and choice of subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director; but I will venture to give you some short hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leisure. Let me entreat you then, by no means to lay aside that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in Poetry, which is, That a Poet must never write or discourse as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verse, as an *oracle*; which I mention the rather, because, upon this principle, I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole sermon composed and delivered in blank verse, to the vast credit of the preacher, no less than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience; the secret of which I take to be this: When the matter of such discourse is but mere *clay*, or, as we usually call it, *sad stuff*, the preacher, who can afford no better, wisely moulds, and polishes, and dries, and washes this piece of earthen-ware, and then bakes it with poetic fire; after which it will ring like any *pan-crock*, and is a good dish to set before common guests, as every congregation is that comes so often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old custom in use, which our ancestors had, of invoking the Muses at the entrance of their poems; I suppose, by

“man of common understanding may, by proper
“culture, care, attention, and labour, make him-
“self whatever he pleases, except a good Poet.”

Chesterfield, Letter LXXXI. N.

way

way of craving a blessing: this the graceless *Moderns* have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that poetical *impiety*; for, although to nice ears such invocations may sound harsh and disagreeable (as tuning of instruments is before a concert), they are equally necessary. Again, you must not fail to dress your Muse in a forehead-cloth of *Greek* or *Latin*; I mean, you are always to make use of a *quaint motto* to all your *compositions*; for, besides that this artifice bespeaks the Reader's opinion of the Writer's learning, it is otherwise useful and commendable. A bright passage in the front of a Poem is a good mark, like a *star* in a horse's *face*; and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, *Horace* makes one qualification of a good Poet, may teach you not to gag your Muse, or stint yourself in words and epithets (which cost you nothing), contrary to the practice of some few *out-of-the-way* writers, who use a natural and concise expression, and affect a style like unto a *Shrewsbury-cake*, *short* and *sweet* upon the palate; they will not afford you a word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly as it would be to set down no more meat than your company will be sure to eat up. Words are but lacquies to sense, and will dance attendance without wages or compulsion; *Verba non invita sequentur*.

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Furthermore, when you set about composing, it may be necessary, for your ease, and better *distillation* of *wit*, to put on your worst cloaths, and the worse the better; for an Author, like a *limbeck*, will yield the better for having a rag about him: besides that, I have observed a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree (which is the *surtout* of it), to make it bear well: and this is a natural account of the usual poverty of Poets, and is an argument why Wits, of all men living, ought to be ill-clad. I have always a secret veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of repair in his person, as supposing him either a Poet or a Philosopher; because the richest minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered surface of earth.

As for your choice of subjects, I have only to give you this caution: That, as a handsome way of praising is certainly the most difficult point in writing or speaking, I would by no means advise any young man to make his first essay in panegyrick, besides the danger of it; for a particular encomium is ever attended with more ill-will than any general invective, for which I need give no reasons; wherefore, my counsel is, that you use the *point* of your pen, not the *feather*: let your first attempt be a *coup d'eclat* in the way of libel, lampoon, or satire. Knock down half a score reputations, and you will infallibly raise your own; and, so it be with
wit,

wit, no matter with how little justice; for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like *Pyrrhus* on his elephant; and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty nag, and to keep your seat, is, at your first mounting, to afford him the whip and spurs plentifully; after which, you may travel the rest of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reasonable good understanding. You cannot but know that *these* of your profession have been called "genus irritabile vatum;" and you will find it necessary to qualify yourself for that *waspish* society, by exerting your talent of satire upon the first occasion; and to abandon good-nature, only to prove yourself a true Poet, which you will allow to be a valuable consideration. In a word, a young robber is usually entered by a murder; a young hound is blooded, when he comes first into the field; a young bully begins with killing his man; and a young Poet must shew his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and slashing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Lastly, It will be your wisdom to look out betimes for a good service for your Muse, according to her skill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairy-maid, a cook, or chair-woman: I mean, to hire out your pen to a party, which will afford you both pay and protection; and when you have to do with the press (as you will long to be there),
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ke care to bespeak an importunate friend, extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you must surrender *digito male rtinaci*. There is a decency in this; for it more becomes an Author in modesty to give a hand in publishing his own works, than a woman in labour to lay herself.

I would be very loth to give the least umbrage of offence by what I have here said; as may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these circumstances of good writing have been unknown to, or not observed by, the poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the justice to say, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactness, and so far as hardly to come behind those of their profession in *England*, in perfection of now writing. The *sublime* indeed is not so common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compositions. Our very good friend the Knight aforesaid, speaking of the force of Poetry, mentions "Rhiming to death, which" (adds he) is said to be done in *Ireland*;" and truly, to our honour be it spoken, that power in a great measure continues with us to this day.

I would now offer some poor thoughts of mine for the encouragement of Poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aking heart for the ill plight of that noble profession
here

here: and it has been my late and early study how to bring it into better circumstances. And surely, considering what monstrous wits, in the Poetic way, do almost daily start up and surprize us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here (of which I could give instances without number); and withall of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here (for it is plain our linen-manufacture is advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present sett of Poets, not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shop-keepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and paltry-cooks; and I might add, but for our Writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bumfodder, and must of necessity import the same from *England* and *Holland*, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits): I say, these things considered, I am humbly of opinion, it would be worth the care of our governours to cherish gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And, since I am upon the subject, I shall speak my mind very *freely*; and if I added *sawcily*, it is no more than my birth-right as a *Briton*.

Seriously then, I have many years lamented the want of a *Grub-street* in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called *one*. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our constitution, ever since I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows *Grub-street* is a market for
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all-ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as a nose is upon a man's face: and for the same reasons we have here a court, a college, a play-house, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper (clear of taxes), and every other circumstance to provoke wit; and that those whose province it is have not yet thought fit to appoint a place for *evacuations* of it: which is a very hard case, as may be judged by comparisons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniencies; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the commonwealth of letters, I am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted *air* and frequent thick *fogs* are in a great measure owing to the common expofal of our *wit*; and that, with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town, without infecting the whole; as the case is at present, to the great offence of our *nobility* and *gentry*, and others of nice noses. When writers of all fizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of great travelers, *Edinburgh* is at night; a thing well to be considered in these pestilential times?

I am

I am not of the Society for the Reformation of Manners; but, without that pragmatical title, I should be glad to see some amendment in the matter before us: wherefore I humbly bespeak the favour of the lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and common council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their most political consideration; and I persuade myself they will not be wanting in their best endeavours, when they can serve two such good ends at once, as both to keep the town *sweet*, and encourage Poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to Satirical Poets and Lampoon-writers, in consideration of their office; for though, indeed, their business is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of streets and *families* (in which respect they may be, for aught I know, as necessary to the town as *Scavengers*, or *Chimney-sweeps*), yet I have observed they too have themselves at the same time very foul cloaths, and, like dirty persons, leave more filth and nastiness than they sweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that some private street, or blind alley, of this town may be fitted up, at the charge of the publick, as an apartment for the Muses (like those at *Rome* and *Amsterdam* for their female relations), and be wholly consigned to the uses of our wits, furnished completely with all appurtenances, such as authors, supervisors, presses, printers, hawk-
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ers, shops, and garrets, and every circumstance of which obviously be this have a safe ructions, which in single sheets together lost the best are handsome women. Another point melancholy reflection play-house, the an immediate kingdom; as tillage of the riches the plot town seem to vast benefit nation. That all our love, the school of know *what* not say is a ledge. Th childish mischief their mother too they ge cially those are great same is a r and several nation of t common-f

shops, and ware-houses, abundance of
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 cumstance of wit; the benefit of which would
 obviously be this, *viz.* That we should then
 have a safe repository for our **BEST** pro-
 cections, which at present are handed about
 single sheets or manuscripts, and may be
 together lost (which were a pity); or at
 the best are subject, in that loose dress, like
 handsome women, to great abuses.

Another point, that has cost me some me-
 lancholy reflections, is the present state of the
 play-house, the encouragement of which hath
 an immediate influence upon the poetry of the
 kingdom; as a good market improves the
 tillage of the neighbouring country, and en-
 riches the ploughman: neither do we of this
 town seem enough to know or consider the
 vast benefit of a *play-house* to our city and
 nation. That single house is the fountain of
 all our love, wit, dress, and gallantry. It is
 the school of wisdom; for there we learn to
 know *what's what*; which, however, I can-
 not say is always in that place *sound* know-
 ledge. There our young folks drop their
 childish mistakes, and come first to perceive
 their mothers cheat of the *parsley-bed*; there
 too they get rid of *natural* prejudices, espe-
 cially those of religion and modesty, which
 are great restraints to a free people. The
 same is a remedy for the spleen, and blushing,
 and several distempers occasioned by the stag-
 nation of the blood. It is likewise a school of
 common-swearing; my young master, who

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at first but minced an oath, is taught there to *mouth* it gracefully, and to swear, as he reads *French, ore rotundo*. Prophaneness was before to him in the nature of his best suit, or holiday-cloaths; but, upon frequenting the play-house, swearing, cursing, and lying, become like his *every-day coat, waistcoat, and breeches*. Now, I say, *common-swearing*, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the play-house, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the *Swearer's-Bank*^c has proved at large. *Lastly*, the stage in great measure supports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of the age, but for the play-house, which is the seminary of them. From which, it is plain, the publick is a gainer by the play-house, and consequently ought to countenance it; and, were I worthy to put in my word, or prescribe to my betters, I could say in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great designs to serve the publick, in the way of their diversions, with due encouragement; that is, if he can obtain some *concordatum* money, or yearly salary, and handsome contribution: and well he deserves the favours of the nation; for, to do him justice, he has an uncommon skill in pastimes, having altogether applied his studies that way, and traveled full many a league, by sea and land, for this his

^c This project is printed above, p. 316.

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found knowledge. With that view alone, has visited all the courts and cities in *Europe*; and has been at more pains than I shall speak of, to take an exact draught of the *play-house* at *The Hague*, as a model for a new one here. But what can a private man do by himself in so public an undertaking? It is not to be doubted but, by his care and industry, vast improvements may be made, not only in our *play-house* (which is his immediate province), but in our gaming-ordinaries, groom-porter's, tatteries, bowling-greens, nine-pin-allies, bear-gardens, cock-pits, prizes, puppet and raree-shows, and whatever else concerns the elegant diversions of this town. He is truly an original genius; and I felicitate this our capital city on his residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish, for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: if any further applications shall be made on the other side, to obtain a charter for a Bank here, I presume to make a request, that Poetry may be a sharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our stocks; but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe also, it might be proper to erect a corporation of Poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time, to make a computation of Wits here; and do find we have three hundred performing Poets and upwards in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for

demi's, like pint-bottles; including also the several denominations of Imitators, Translators, and Familiar-letter-writers, &c. One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late *British Spectator*, in his decline, would have called, *An excellent Specimen of the true Sublime*; or, *A noble Poem*; or, *A fine Copy of Verses on a Subject perfectly new* (the Author himself); and had given it a place amongst his latest lucubrations.

But, as I was saying, so many Poets, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a *corporation* in point of number. Then, for the several degrees of subordinate members requisite to such a body, there can be no want; for, although we have not one masterly Poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles, having a multitude of Poetasters, Poetito's, Parcel-poets, Poet-apes, and Philo-poets, and many of inferior attainments in Wit, but strong inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease, till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myself) shall be reduced to practice. I long to see the day, when our Poets will be a regular and distinct body, and wait upon our Lord-mayor on public days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green instead of laurels; and when I myself, who make this proposal, shall be free of their company.

To conclude, What if our government had a Poet-laureat *here, as in England*? what if our University had a Professor of Poetry *here,*
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in England? what if our Lord-mayor had City-bard *here, as in* England? and, to re-
 ce upon *England*, what if every Corporation,
 parish, and Ward in this Town, had a Poet in
 e, *as they have* NOT *in* England? Lastly,
 hat if every one *so qualified* were obliged to
 ld one more than usual to the number of his
 omesticks, and besides a Fool and a Chaplain
 (which are often united in one person) would
 etain a Poet in his family; for, perhaps, a
 Chimera is as necessary amongst servants of a
 ouse, as a *Dobbin* with his bells at the head of
 team? But these things I leave to the wisdom
 of my superiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I
 should not forget to govern my own, which
 has already exceeded the bounds of a Letter:
 I must therefore take my leave abruptly, and
 desire you, without further ceremony, to be-
 lieve that I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. S.

December 1, 1720.

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A N

AN ESSAY^a

ON

NATIONAL REWARDS;

Being a Proposal for bestowing them on a
Plan more durable and respectable.

Cuncti adsint, meritæque expectent præmia palmæ.

VIRG.

THREE is no maxim in politicks more indisputable, than that a nation should have many honours to reserve for those who do national services. This raises emulation, cherishes public merit, and inspires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The less expensive these honours are to the publick, the more still do they turn to its advantage.

The *Romans* abounded with these little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and distinction to the person who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on festivals and public

^a This Essay was first printed in the 96th number of *The Guardian*. N.

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ceremonies, was the glorious recompence of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A soldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the most hazardous enterprise sufficiently repaid by so noble a donation.

But, among all honorary rewards which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, remember none so remarkable as the titles which are bestowed by the emperor of *China*. "These are never given to any subject," says Monsieur *Le Conte*, "till the subject is dead. If he has pleased his emperor to the last, he is called in all public memorials by the title which the emperor confers on him after his death, and his children take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the *ambitious* subject in a perpetual dependence, making him always vigilant and active, and in every thing conformable to the will of his sovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us which are more esteemed by the person who receives them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of *medals*. But there is something in the modern manner of celebrating a great action in *medals*, which makes such a reward much less valuable than it was among the *Romans*. There is generally but *one coin* stamped upon the occasion, which is made a present to the person who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his own custody. The applause that is bestowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in possession of an honour which the world perhaps
knows

knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family; his wife and children may see the monument of an exploit, which the publick in a little time is a stranger to. The *Romans* took a quite different method in this particular. Their *medals* were their *current money*. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped perhaps upon an hundred thousand pieces of money, like our shillings or halfpence, which were issued out of the mint, and became current. This method published every noble action to advantage, and in a short space of time spread through the whole *Roman* empire. The *Romans* were so careful to preserve the memory of great events upon their coins, that, when any particular piece of money grew very scarce, it was often re-coined by a succeeding emperor, many years after the death of the emperor to whose honour it was first struck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late ministry^b, which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too busy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman above-mentioned to men of the greatest genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a design on foot for executing the proposal which was then made, and that we shall have several farthings and halfpence charged on the reverse with many of the glorious particulars of her ma-

^b This Essay was written in the ye 1713. N.

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y's reign. This is one of those arts of
ice which may very well deserve to be cul-
ated, and which may be of great use to
sterity.

As I have in my possession the copy of the
per abovementioned, which was delivered to
e late lord treasurer^c, I shall here give the
blick a sight of it; for I do not question but
at the curious part of my readers will be very
ell pleased to see so much matter, and so
any useful hints upon this subject, laid toge-
er in so clear and concise a manner:

“The *English* have not been so careful
as other polite nations to preserve the me-
mory of their great actions and events on
medals. Their subjects are few, their mot-
toes and devices mean, and the coins them-
selves not numerous enough to spread among
the people, or descend to posterity.

“The *French* have outdone us in these par-
ticulars; and, by the establishment of a so-
ciety for the invention of proper inscriptions
and designs, have the whole history of their
present king in a regular series of *medals*.

“They have failed, as well as the *English*,
in coining so small a number of each kind;
and those of such costly metals that each
species may be lost in a few ages, and is at
present no where to be met with but in the
cabinets of the curious.

“The ancient *Romans* took the only effectual
method to disperse and preserve their *medals*,
by making them their *current money*.

^c Lord Godolphin. N.

“Every

“ Every thing glorious or useful, as well in
 “ peace as war, gave occasion to a different
 “ coin. Not only an expedition, victory, or
 “ triumph, but the exercise of a solemn devo-
 “ tion, the remission of a duty or tax, a new
 “ temple, sea-port, or high-way, were trans-
 “ mitted to posterity after this manner.

“ The greatest variety of devices are on their
 “ *copper* money, which have most of the de-
 “ signs that are to be met with on the *gold* and
 “ *silver*, and several peculiar to that metal
 “ only. By this means they were dispersed
 “ into the remotest corners of the empire,
 “ came into the possession of the poor as well
 “ as rich, and were in no danger of perishing
 “ in the hands of those that might have melted
 “ down coins of a more valuable metal.

“ Add to all this, that the designs were in-
 “ vented by men of genius, and executed by a
 “ decree of senate.

“ It is therefore proposed :

“ 1. That the *English* farthings and half-
 “ pence be re-coined, upon the Union of the
 “ two nations.

“ 2. That they bear devices and inscriptions
 “ alluding to all the most remarkable parts of
 “ her majesty's reign.

“ 3. That there be a society established, for
 “ the finding out of proper subjects, inscrip-
 “ tions, and devices.

“ 4. That no subject, inscription, or device,
 “ be stamped without the approbation of this
 “ society; nor, if it be thought proper, with-
 “ out the authority of privy-council.

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By this means, *medals*, that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life; and, at the same time, perpetuate the glories of her majesty's reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as *medals* of this kind; which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place; properties not to be found in *books, statues, pictures, buildings*, or any other monuments of illustrious actions."

OBSERVATIONS

ON

HEYLIN'S History of the Presbyterians ^a.

THIS book, by some errors and neglects in the style, seems not to have received the author's last correction. It is written with some vehemence, very pardonable in one who had been an observer and a sufferer, in *England*, under that diabolical fanatic sect which then destroyed church and state. But, by comparing in my memory what I have read in other histories, he neither aggravates nor falsifies any facts. His partiality appears chiefly in setting the actions of *Calvinists* in the strongest light, without equally dwelling on those of the other side; which, however, to say the truth, was not his proper business. And yet he might have spent some more words on the inhuman massacre of *Paris* and other parts of *France*, which no provocation (and yet the king had the greatest possible) could excuse, or much extenuate. The author, ac-

^a Written by the Dean in the beginning of the book, on one of the blank leaves.

ding to the current opinion of the age he
ed in, had too high notions of regal power;
by the common mistake of the term *su-
me magistrate*, and not rightly distinguish-
g between the *legislature* and *administration*:
o which mistake the clergy fell, or con-
ued, in the reign of *Charles II*, as I have
own and explained in a treatise, &c.

J. SWIFT.

March 6, 1727-8.

LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER I.

To Mr. WILLIAM SWIFT^a.

SIR, *Moore-Park, Nov. 29, 1692.*

MY sister told me you was pleased (when she was here) to wonder I did so seldom write to you. I been so kind to impute it neither to ill manners . . . respect. I always thought that sufficient from one who has always been but too troublesome to you. Besides, I know your aversion to impertinence; and God knows, so very private a life as mine can furnish a letter with little else, for I often am two or three months without seeing any body besides the family; and now my sister is gone, I am likely to be more

^a This letter to his uncle (though somewhat imperfect, and manifestly written in great haste) certainly merits our regard, as helping to clear up some interesting passages in the writer's life. N.

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^b Dr. Sw
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solitary than before. I am still to thank you for your care in my *testimonium*; and it was to a very good purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the university of *Oxford* to me. I had all the civilities I could wish for, and so many favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks to strangers than ever I was in even years to *Dublin College*. I am not to take orders till the king gives me a prebend; and Sir *William Temple*, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish, because (I suppose) he believes I shall leave him, and, upon some accounts, he thinks me a little necessary to him^b. If I were entertainment, or doing you any satisfaction by my letters, I should be very glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it by all others. I am sorry my fortune should fling me so far from the best of my relations; but hope that I shall have the happiness to see you some time or other. Pray my humble service to my good aunt and the rest of my relations, if you please.

^b Dr. *Swift* was at this time employed in revising Sir *William Temple's* Works for the press. See *Deane Swift's* Essay, p. 61. N.

L E T T E R II.

To Mr. DEANE SWIFT^c.*Leicester, June 3, 1694.*

I Received your kind letter to-day from your sister; and am very glad to find you will spare time from business so far as to write a long letter to one you have none at all with but friendship; which, as the world passes, is perhaps one of the idlest things in it. It is a pleasure to me to see you fall out of your road, and take notice of curiosities, of which I am very glad to have part; and desire you to set by some idle minutes for a commerce which shall ever be dear to me, and, from so good an observer as you may easily be, cannot fail of being useful. I am sorry to see so much superstition in a country so given to trade; I half used to think those two to be incompatible. Not that I utterly dislike your processions for rain or fair-weather, which, as trifling as they are, yet have good effects to quiet common heads, and infuse a gaping devotion among the rabble. But your burning the old woman, unless she were a duenna, I shall never be reconciled to; though it is easily observed that nations which have most gallantry to the young, are ever the severest upon

^c A cousin of Dr. Swift, then at Lisbon, and father to the Author of the Essay on Swift's writings; Mr. Willoughby Swift was another cousin of the Dean. See the Essay, p. 50. N.

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the old d. I have not leisure to descant further upon your pleasing letter, nor any thing to return you from so barren a scene as this, which I shall leave in four days towards my journey for *Ireland*. I had designed a letter to my cousin *Willoughby*; and the last favour he has done me requires a great deal of acknowledgement: but the thoughts of my sending so many before has made me believe it better to trust you with delivering my best thanks to him; and that you will endeavour to persuade him how extreme sensible of his goodness and generosity I am. I wish, and shall pray, he may be as happy as he deserves; and he cannot be more. My mother desires her best love to him and to you, with both our services to my cousin his wife.

I forgot to tell you I left Sir *William Temple* a month ago, just as I foretold it to you; and every thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed. He was extreme angry I left him; and yet would not oblige himself any further than upon my good behaviour, nor would promise any thing firmly to me at all; so that every body judged I did best to leave him. I design to be ordained in *September* next, and make what endeavours I can for something in the church. I wish it may ever lay in my cou-

d The Dean, at this time, little expected that the zeal of the Inquisition should extend to any of his satirical writings; part of which they however actually burnt. See the *Vindication of Bickerstaff*, in vol. III. of this collection, p. 230. N.

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fin's way or yours to have interest to bring me in chaplain of the *Factory*.

If any thing offers from *Dublin* that may serve either to satisfy or divert you, I will not fail of contributing, and giving you constant intelligence from thence of whatever you shall desire. I am

Your affectionate cousin

and servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R III.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS,
Rector of *Castleknock*, near *Dublin*.

Windsor-Castle, Oct. 1, 1713.

I HAD just now a letter from you, wherein you mention the design of making me prolocutor^e. I will confess to you, there are two reasons why I should comply with it: one is, that I am heartily weary of courts, and ministers, and politicks, for several reasons impossible to tell you; and I have a mind to be at home, since the queen has been pleased that *Ireland* should be my home: the other reason is, that I think somebody educated in *Dublin College* should be prolocutor; and I hear there

^e See Letter XXXIII. to Dr. King, dated Oct. 20, 1713, in p. 152, of vol. XIV. N.

re designs of turning it another way. But, if you find it will not do, I hope you will quit the design in proper season. I condole with you for the loss of your ^f companions this winter; and I was always of opinion they should be in town, unless they find their health better at *Trim*.

I am a little disappointed in ^g *Parvisol's* return. I hoped it would have amounted to near five hundred pounds in the tithes: I doubt not the cause; and beg you will have no sort of tenderneſs for him, further than it regards my interest. As to the land-rents, they are one hundred and ſeventy-four pounds a year in the country, beſides ſome ſmall things in town; and I am in no pain about them, becauſe they are ſure; nor do I deſire him to concern himſelf about them.

I hoped, and was told, my licence would be under ſix pounds, though all was paid; and I heard, if lord chancellor ^h had taken his fees, it would have been eight pounds. Tell Mr. *Fetherſton*, I have ſpoken to baron *Scroupe* about his affair, who promiſeth to diſpatch it with the firſt opportunity. I am now with ſome miniſters and lords, and other company, and withdrawn to a table; and hardly know what I write, they are ſo loud. My humble ſervice to your *Dorothy*, and alderman *Stoyte* ⁱ,

^f Mrs. *Johnson* and Mrs. *Dingley*.

^g The Dean's agent.

^h Sir *Constantine Phipps*. See vol. XX. p. 2. N.

ⁱ An alderman of *Dublin*, afterwards lord mayor.

his wife, and *Cellarius*; and duty to the bishop of *Dromore*ⁱ.

Yours,

J. S.

LETTER IV.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS.

London, Oct. 13, 1713.

I HAVE two letters of yours to acknowledge.—No, I mistake, it is but one; for I answered the former, of *September* twenty-second, some time ago; your other is of the first instant, with an account of your Mayor-squabble^k, which we regard as much here as if you sent us an account of your little son playing at cherry-stones. I told your lord chancellor, that the best thing the government there could do would be, never to trouble us with your affairs, but do the best you can; for we will neither support nor regard you. I have received the lords justices representation, just now sent to the queen. I have said more upon it than any body else would; and I hope my lord lieutenant^l will put a good end to the dispute.—I am heartily sorry for poor *Hawley*: and doubt such a shake at his age will not be well recovered. Of your four candidates to succeed him, I dislike all but the

ⁱ Dr. John Sterne, afterwards bishop of Clogher. N.

^k Sir Samuel Cooke.

^l Duke of Sbrewsbury.

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first, which is *Bolton*. As to the chair of prolocutor, I said to you in my former all I thought necessary. I dislike the thing for myself; but I would keep a wrong man out, and would be glad of an honest excuse to leave courts and public thoughts: but it would vex me to be proposed, and not succeed.

As for *Williams*, I am an old courtier, and will think of it; but, if we want a finger, and I can get a better, that better one shall be preferred, although my father were competitor.

I have spoken to baron *Scroup*, about Mr. *Fetherston's* affair, and hope to get him a good account of it.

You very artificially bring in your friend Mrs. *South*: I have spoke to her, and heard from her; and spoke to the duke of *Ormond*: I will do her what service I can.

My service to gossip *Doll*; and God bless my god-daughter!

I think you need not inquire about the land-rents of the deanry: they are secure enough; and I believe I shall not trouble Mr. *Parvisol* about them.

There is one farm set for one hundred and twenty pounds a year, another for fifty-four pounds. Rents adjoining to the deanry, about two pounds ten shillings, and duties about eight pounds, or something under; and a small lease of tithes, about four or five pounds; which last I would be glad you would ask *Parvisol* whether it be included among the tithes he has set. You see all the rents together are under two hundred pounds. I forgot

five pounds a year for the verger's house. Service to *Stoyte* and ^m *Manley*, and duty to bishop of *Dromore*.

L E T T E R V.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS.

SIR,

London, Oct. 20, 1713.

I WRIT to you immediately upon receiving your former, as I do now upon your last of the tenth instant. As to the business of being prolocutorⁿ, I will tell you the short of my story. Although I have done more service to *Ireland*, and particularly to the church, than any man of my level, I have never been able to get a good word; and I incurred the displeasure of the bishops, by being the instrument *sine qua non* of procuring the first-fruits: neither had I credit to be a convocation-man in the meanest diocese of the kingdom, till poor dean *Synge*, who happened to think well of me, got me to be chosen for *St. Patrick's*; so that I think there will be a great change if I am chosen prolocutor. And yet, at the same time, I am so very nice, that I will not think of moving towards *Ireland*, till I am actually chosen: you will say, "What then must the

^m *Isaac Manley*, esq. deputy post-master-general of *Ireland*.

ⁿ The convocation did not meet in *Ireland* after the year 1710.

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“clergy do for a prolocutor?” Why, I suppose, they may appoint a vice-prolocutor until my coming over, which may be in ten days.—But this perhaps is not feasible: if not, you may be sure, I shall not so openly declare my ambition to that post, when I am not sure to carry it; and, if I fail, the comfort of *mecum certasse feretur* will not perhaps fall to my share. But I go on too fast; for I find in your next lines, that the archbishop says, “There will be an indispensable necessity that I should be there at the election.” Why, if the bishops will all fix it, so as to give a man time to come over, with all my heart; but, if the election must be struggled for, I will have nothing to do with it. As for the bishops, I have not the least interest with above three in the kingdom: and, unless the thought strikes the clergy in general that I must be their man, nothing can come of it. We always settle a speaker here, as soon as the writs are issued out for a parliament; if you did so for a prolocutor, a man might have warning in time. But I should make the foolishhest figure in nature, to come over hawking for an employment I no wise seek or desire, and then fail of it. Pray communicate the sense of what I say to the archbishop, to whom I will write by this post.

As to my private affairs, I am sure they are in good hands; but I beg you will not have the least regard or tenderness to *Parvisol*, further than you shall find he deserves. I am my gossip's very humble servant; and the like to

Stoyte, his lady, and *Catherine*; and Mr. *Manley*, and his lady and daughter.

I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. S W I F T.

I wrote lately to Dr. *Synge*; twice in all.

I think you should force the St. *Mary* ladies ° to town, towards *Christmas*.

My duty to the bishop of *Dromore*.

Dr. *Synge* wrote me word a month ago, that *Rosgrave*, our organist, was at the point of death. Is he dead or alive?

L E T T E R VI. °

Mr. P O P E to Dr. S W I F T.

S I R,

Binfield, December 8, 1713.

NOT to trouble you at present with a recital of all my obligations to you, I shall only mention two things, which I take parti-

° Mrs. *Johnson* and Mrs. *Dingley*.

p “ This letter is an answer to one from Dr.

“ *Swift*, wherein he had jocosely made an offer to

“ his friend of a sum of money *ex causâ religionis*,

“ or, in plain *English*, to induce his friend to

“ change his religion. The wit of the letter

“ itself will excuse all further commentaries.”

Q U E R Y, p. 33. N.

cularly

cularly kind of you : your desire that I should write to you, and your proposal of giving me twenty guineas to change my religion; which last you must give me leave to make the subject of this letter.

Sure no clergyman ever offered so much out of his own purse for the sake of any religion. It is almost as many pieces of gold as an Apostle could get of silver from the priests of old, on a much more valuable consideration. I believe it will be better worth my while to propose a change of my faith by subscription, than a translation of *Homer*. And, to convince you how well disposed I am to the reformation, I shall be content, if you can prevail with my Lord Treasurer and the ministry to rise to the same sum each of them, on this pious account, as my lord *Halifax* has done on the prophane one. I am afraid there is no being at once a Poet and a good Christian; and I am very much straitened between two, while the Whigs seem willing to contribute as much to continue me the one, as you would to make me the other. But, if you can move every man in the government, who has above ten thousand pounds a year, to subscribe as much as yourself, I shall become a convert, as most men do, when the *Lord* turns it to my interest. I know they have the truth of religion so much at heart, that they would certainly give more to have one good subject translated from Popery to the Church of *England*, than twenty Heathenish authors out of any unknown tongue into ours. I therefore
 commission

commission you, Mr. *Dean*, with full authority, to transact this affair in my name, and to propose as follows. First, that as to the head of our church, the Pope, I may engage to renounce his power, whensoever I shall receive any particular indulgences from the head of your church, the Queen.

As to communion in one kind, I shall also promise to change it for communion in both, as soon as the ministry will allow me.

For invocations to saints, mine shall be turned to dedications to sinners, when I shall find the great ones of this world as willing to do me any good as I believe those of the other are.

You see I shall not be obstinate in the main points; but there is one article I must reserve, and which you seemed not unwilling to allow me, prayer for the dead. There are people to whose souls I wish as well, as to my own; and I must crave leave, humbly to lay before them, that, though the subscriptions above-mentioned will suffice for myself, there are necessary perquisites and additions, which I must demand on the score of this charitable article. It is also to be considered, that the greater part of those, whose souls I am most concerned for, were unfortunately hereticks, schismatics, poets, painters, or persons of such lives and manners as few or no churches are willing to save. The expence will therefore be the greater, to make an effectual provision for the said souls.

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Old *Dryden*, though a *Roman* Catholick, was a poet; and it is revealed in the visions of some ancient saints, that no poet was ever saved under some hundred of masses. I cannot set his delivery from purgatory at less than fifty pounds sterling.

Walsh was not only a Socinian, but (what you will own is harder to be saved) a Whig. He cannot modestly be rated at less than an hundred.

L'Estrange, being a Tory, we compute him but at twenty pounds; which I hope no friend of the party can deny to give, to keep him from damning in the next life, considering they never gave him six pence to keep him from starving in this.

All this together amounts to one hundred and seventy pounds.

In the next place, I must desire you to represent, that there are several of my friends yet living, whom I design, God willing, to outlive, in consideration of legacies; out of which it is a doctrine in the Reformed church, that not a farthing shall be allowed to save their souls who gave them.

There is one * * * * who will dye within these few months; with * * * * * one Mr. *Jervas*, who hath grievously offended in making the likenesses of almost all things in heaven above and earth below. And one Mr. *Gay*, an unhappy youth, who writes pastorals during the time of divine service, whose case is the more deplorable, as he hath miserably

miserably lavished away all that silver he should have reserved for his soul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.

I cannot pretend to have these people honestly saved under some hundred pounds, whether you consider the difficulty of such a work, or the extreme love and tendernefs I bear them; which will infallibly make me push this charity as far as I am able. There is but one more whose salvation I insist upon, and then I have done: but indeed it may prove of so much greater charge than all the rest, that I will only lay the case before you and the ministry, and lay to their prudence and generosity, what sum they shall think fit to bestow upon it.

The person I mean, is Dr. *Swift*; a dignified clergyman, but one, who, by his own confession, has composed more libels than sermons. If it be true, what I have heard often affirmed by innocent people, That too much wit is dangerous to salvation, this unfortunate gentleman must certainly be damned to all eternity. But I hope his long experience in the world, and frequent conversation with great men, will cause him (as it has some others) to have less and less wit every day. Be it as it will, I should not think my own soul deserved to be saved, if I did not endeavour to save his; for I have all the obligations in nature to him. He has brought me into better company than I cared for, made me merrier when I was sick than I had a mind

to be, and put me upon making poems on purpose that he might alter them, &c.

I once thought I could never have discharged my debt to his kindness; but have lately been informed, to my unspeakable comfort, that I have more than paid it all. For Monsieur *De Montaigne* has assured me, "That the person who receives a benefit obliges the giver:" for, since the chief endeavour of one friend is to do good to the other, he who administers both the matter and occasion, is the man who is liberal. At this rate it is impossible Dr. *Swift* should be ever out of my debt, as matters stand already: and, for the future, he may expect daily more obligations from

His most faithful,

affectionate humble servant,

A. POPE.

I have finished the *Rape of the Lock*; but I believe I may stay here till *Christmas*, without hindrance of business.

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L E T T E R VII.

To the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon WALLS.

Letcombe^q, August 8, 1714.

IF I had but fixed a week sooner for my journey to *Ireland*, I should have avoided twenty inconveniencies that have since happened to me, and been with you the time I am now writing. Upon the earl of *Oxford's* removal, he desired I would go with him into *Herefordshire*^r; which I consented to, and wrote you word of it, desiring you would renew my licence of absence at the end of this month, for I think it then expires. Two days after, I had earnest invitation from those in power, to go up to town, and assist them in their new ministry; which I resolved to excuse: but, before I could write, news came of the queen's^s death, and all our schemes broke to shatters. I am told, I must take the

^q Dr. *Swift*, at this time, had retired to the rev. Mr. *Gerie's* house, at *Letcombe*, near *Wantage*, in *Berkshire*. N.

^r See a Letter to lord *Oxford* in vol. XVI. p. 139. dated *July 25, 1714*; and lord *Oxford's* letter to Dr. *Swift*, dated *July 27, 1714*, vol. XX. p. 70. N.

^s Her majesty queen *Anne*, who died *August 1, 1714*. See the Dean's letters to lady *Masham* and lord *Bolingbroke*, on this occasion, vol. XVI. p. 160. dated *August 7, 1714*. N.

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aths in *Ireland* in three months; and I think it is better traveling now than later: and although I am earnestly pressed by our broken readers to come up to town, I shall not do it; but hope to set out on the sixteenth instant towards *Ireland*, and, if it please God, be with you in nine or ten days after this comes to your hands. However, let my licence be renewed before it expires. I think I answered yours in my last. I leave all things entirely to you and Mr. *Forbes*. My service to gossip *Doll*, goody *Stoyte* and *Martha*, and Mr. *Manley* and lady. Mr. *Manley* is, I believe, now secure in his post; and it will my turn to solicit favours from him. I have taken up Mr. *Fetherston's* money, to pay some debts in *London*; I desire you will pay him fifty pounds, with the usual exchange, at twenty days sight, or later, if it be inconvenient.

LETTER VIII.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR, *Dublin, May 18, 1721.*

I HAD your letter, and the copy of the bishop's circular inclosed, for which I thank you, and yet I will not pretend to know any thing

* For the Letters to Mr. *Wallis*, and the Notes signed D. we are indebted to a collection of *Letters of several eminent Persons deceased*, published in three volumes,

thing of it, and hope you have not told any body what you did. I should be glad enough to be at the visitation, not out of any love to the business, or the person, but to do my part in preventing any mischief. But in truth my health will not suffer it; and you^u, who are to be my proxy, may safely give it upon your veracity. I am confident the bishop^w would not be dissatisfied with wanting my company, and yet he may give himself airs when he finds I am not there^x. I now employ myself in

volumes, 8vo, by the very ingenious *John Duncombe*, M. A. One of the Six Preachers in *Christ Church, Canterbury*. N.

^u Mr. *Wallis* was son of the dean of *Derry*, and vicar of *Atboy*, in the county of *Meath*. He died in 1746. D.

^w Dr. *John Evans*, translated from the see of *Bangor* to that of *Meath* in 1715. In this diocese was the vicarage of *Laracor*, which *Swift* held with his Deanry. Some dissensions having arisen between bishop *Evans* and his clergy, *Swift* took part with the latter. At the first visitation, which he attended, hearing his diocesan very severe in his animadversions on a poor curate, for a matter of little or no importance, the Dean stood up, and told his lordship, "That, having once been witness of such improper unepiscopal behaviour, he would never be witness of it again; and therefore gave his lordship notice, that, if he had any fault to find with him, he must find it then, as he was determined not to attend any other visitation." D.

^x By a warm expostulatory letter from *Swift* to this *Cambro-Hibernian* prelate, dated July 5, 1721,

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Your faithful humble servant,

J. S.

LETTER IX.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR,

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1721.

YOU stole in and out of town without
seeing either the ladies *y* or me; which
was very ungratefully done, considering the
obligations you have to us, for lodging and
dieting with you so long. Why did you not
call in the morning at the Deanry? Besides,
we reckoned for certain that you came to stay
a month or two, as you told us you intended.
I hear you were so kind as to be at *Laracor*^z,

[printed in this collection, vol. XVI. p. 181.] it ap-
pears, that his lordship did "give himself airs," by
refusing to admit this proxy at the visitation, though
he attested the Dean's want of health, &c. he being
then tormented with an ague. D.

y Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley. D.

z The Dean's vicarage-house there, where he in-
tended to make several improvements, is now totally
ruined; though one of his biographers says, "He
left it a convenient and agreeable retreat to his
successor, at a considerable expence." D.

where

where I hope you planted something; and I intend to be down after *Christmas*, ~~where~~² you must continue a week. As for your plan, it is very pretty, too pretty for the use I intend to make of *Laracor*. All I would desire is, what I mention in the paper I left you, except a walk down to the canal. I suppose your project would cost me ten pounds and a constant gardener. Pray come to town, and stay some time, and repay yourself some of your dinners. I wonder how a mischief you came to miss us. Why did you not set out a *Monday*, like a true country parson? Beside, you lay a load on us, in saying one chief end of your journey was to see us; but I suppose there might be another motive, and you are like the man that died of love and the colic. Let us know whether you are more or less monkish, how long you found yourself better by our company, and how long before you recovered the charges we put you to? The ladies assure you of their hearty services; and I am, with great truth and sincerity,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

^a The Dean, it may be supposed, rather meant *when*. D.

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LETTER X.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR, *Dublin, February 12, 1722-3.*

I WOULD have been at *Laracor* and *Athboy*^b before now, if an ugly depending chapter-business^c had not tied me here. There is a long difficulty, that concerns the government, the archbishop^d, the chapter, the dean^e, *Dr. Howard*^f, and *Robin Grattan*^g; and I know not whether it will be determined in a month. All my design is to do a job for *Robert Grattan*^h; but the rest have their dif-

^b Mr. Wallis's living, near *Laracor*. D.

^c Probably the disposal of the curacy of *St. Bridget's, Dublin*, in which the Dean espoused the interest of Mr. *Robert Grattan*. D.

^d *Dr. King*, then archbishop of *Dublin*. D.

^e *Dr. Swift* himself. D.

^f Afterwards bishop of *Elphin*. D.

^g Afterwards curate of *St. Bridget's*, prebendary of *St. Andrew's*, and one of the Dean's ten executors. To this Mr. *Grattan* (who was one of the seven sons of *Dr. Grattan*, a venerable and hospitable clergyman) *Swift* whimsically bequeathed his "bottle-screw, his second best beaver, and his strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother, *Dr. James Grattan* [a physician], during the life of the said doctor, who hath more occasion for it." D.

^h Whom, in 1728, he warmly recommended to lord *Carteret*, lord lieutenant. See vol. XVI. p. 211. N.

ferent

ferent schemes and politicks, too deep and too contemptible for me to trouble myself about them. Mean time you grow negligent, and the improvements at *Laracor* are forgotten. I beg you will stop there for a day or two, and do what is necessary now, before the season is too late; and I will come when this affair is over, and bring down wine (which will not be ready till then, for it is but just bottled); and we will be merry at your house and my cottage.

I sent your memorial, drawn up by myself, with my opinion upon it, and a letter to Dr. *Kearney*ⁱ, to recommend it to the primate^k. I likewise desired Mr. *Morgan* to second it. I have in vain hitherto sought Dr. *Kearney*, but shall find him soon; and I intend to engage Dr. *Worth*^l and Mr. *Cross*^m, and probably all may come to nothing—*Sed quid tentare nocebit?* The ladies are as usually—Mrs. *Johnson* eats an ounce a week, which frights me from dining with her. My crew has drunk near three hogheads since I came to town, and we must take up with new when I come down. I suppose you are in the midst of spleen and justice. I have often an ill head, and am so unfortunate as to pick out rainy days to ride in. What is it to you that old *Proby* the painter is dead?

I am ever yours,

J. SWIFT.

ⁱ Treasurer of *Armagh*. D.

^k Dr. *Lindsay*. D.

^l An eminent physician. D.

^m Rector of *St. Mary's, Dublin*. D.

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LETTER XI.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDANⁿ.*Octobris 12^o, 1723, Saturni die.*

Eruditissime Domine,

MI Sana, Telo me Flaccus; odiofo ni mus rem. Tuba Dia pusillanimum: emit si erit mos minimo. Fecitne Latina Sal? I sub me? a robur os. Nantis potatis. Moto ima os illuc a illuc? Ima os nega? I dama nam? Memoravi i nos; Ima eris nisi! fit parta.

Si paca eruca? voco Tite nemo! Emerit tono, fit sola ni emit, na edit. Ima ni sum & dum? Ima nil ne ni erim! Tuba nisi no os tegi en parare.

HUMILLIMUS, &c,

Excusatum me habeas si subjecti gravitate paululum aliquando emoveor.

When you have puzzled your brains with reading this, you will find it as bad sense as you would desire.

Where do you dine to-day?

To-morrow with me.

ⁿ This Letter is preserved merely as a Cruft for the Criticks; the only purpose, perhaps, for which it was originally intended by the Dean. N.

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LET-

L E T T E R XII.

To rhe Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

S I R,

Dublin, April 8, 1727.

I AM just going for *England*, and must desire you to be my proxy at the bishop's visitationⁿ. I find there is likewise a triennial visitation, and think the inclosed^o may serve for both, with your wise management. The ladies are with me, being now come to live at the Deanry for this summer^p. You have their service, and so has Mrs. *Wallis*, as well as mine. I reckon you are now deep in mire and mortar, and are preparing to live seven years hence. I have been plagued with the roguery of my Deanry proctor, whom I have discharged. I believe I am worse for him six hundred pounds, and his brother is not much better. I wish you had been at my elbow to advise one, for you are fitter for the world than I am. I

ⁿ See above, p. 380. N.

^o A proxy from the Dean, as vicar of *Lara-*
oor. D.

^p They had lodgings on *Ormond-quay*, on the other side of the river *Liffey*, and never resided at the Deanry but in the Dean's absence: when he returned, they removed; nor were *Stella* and he ever known to meet but in the presence of a third person. D.

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hope to come safe back, and then to have done with *England*^q.

I am ever yours, &c.

J. S.

LETTER XIII.

To the Rev. Mr. WALLIS.

SIR, *Market-hill*^r, Nov. 16, 1728.

I AM extremely obliged to you for your kind intention in the purchase you mention; but it will not answer my design, because these lands are let in leases renewable for ever^s, and consequently can never have the rent raised; which is mortal to all estates left

^q He had so; this being his last visit. He returned to *Ireland*, on the news of *Stella's* last illness, in *September* following. D.

^r The seat of Sir *Arthur Acheson*, where the Dean passed two summers. He had a farm near it, which was let to him by Sir *Arthur*, called afterwards *Drapier's Hill*. D. See some verses on that subject in vol. VII. p. 113. 134. vol. XIV. p. 292. and in vol. XVII. p. 38. 44. 52, 53. N.

^s Accordingly, in his will, by which he devised his fortune to the building and endowing of an hospital for lunatics, he restrained his executors from purchasing any lands that "were encumbered" "with leases for lives renewable." D.

for ever to a public use, and is contrary to a fundamental maxim of mine; and most corporations feel the smart of it.

I have been here several months, to amuse me in my disorders of giddiness^t and deafness, of which I have frequent returns — and I shall hardly return to *Dublin* till *Christmas*.

I am truly grieved at your great loss^u. Such misfortunes seem to break the whole scheme of man's life; and although time may lessen sorrow, yet it cannot hinder a man from feeling the want of so near a companion, nor hardly supply it with another^w. I wish you health and happiness, and that the pledge^x left you may prove a comfort. I am, with great sincerity,

Your most obliged

and most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

^t This disorder (which, with intermissions, pursued him till it seemed to complete its conquest, by rendering him the exact image of one of his own *Struldbrugs*) lord Orrery often heard him ascribe to a surfeit, occasioned by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit at Sir *William Temple's* in 1691. D.

^u The death of Mrs. *Wallis*. D.

^w This sentiment, no doubt, came from the writer's heart. *Stella*, the incomparable *Stella*, was then no more! D.

^x A son, now a barrister at law. D.

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LETTER XIV.

The Earl of PETERBOROUGH^z
to Mr. POPE.

1732.

I AM under the greatest impatience to see Dr. *Swift* at *Bevis-Mount*, and must signify my mind to him by another hand; it not being permitted me to hold correspondence with the said Dean, for no letter of mine can come to his hands.

And whereas it is apparent, in this Protestant land, most especially under the care of Divine Providence, that nothing can succeed or come to a happy issue without bribery; therefore let me know what he expects, to comply with my desires, and it shall be remitted unto him.

For, though I would not corrupt any man for the whole world, yet a benevolence may be given without any offence to conscience: every one must confess that gratification and corruption are two distinct terms; nay at worst many good men hold, that, for a good end, some very naughty measures may be made use of.

y This Letter and the Answer to it are printed in Mr. *Pope's* Works; but are too characteristic of his Lordship and the Dean, to be here omitted. N.

z Dr. *Swift* has described this nobleman in some very expressive verses, vol. VII. p. 1. N.

Z 3

But,

But, Sir, I must give you some good news in relation to myself, because I know you wish me well ^a: I am cured of some diseases in my old age, which tormented me very much in my youth.

I was possessed with violent and uneasy passions, such as a peevish concern for Truth, and a saucy love for my country.

When a Christian Priest preached against the Spirit of the Gospel, when an *English* Judge determined against *Magna Charta*, when the Minister acted against Common-sense, I used to fret.

Now, Sir, let what will happen, I keep myself in temper. As I have no flattering hopes, so I banish all useless fears: but as to the things of this world, I find myself in a condition beyond expectation; it being evident, from a late parliamentary inquiry, that I have as much ready money, as much in the funds,

^a Mr. *Pope*, in his *Imitations of Horace*, thus beautifully boasts the friendship of the lords *Bolingbroke* and *Peterborough*:

“ There, my retreat the best companions grace,
 “ Chiefs out of war, and Statesmen out of place:
 “ There, *St. John* mingles with my friendly bowl
 “ The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:
 “ And HE, whose lightning pierc’d th’ *Iberian* lines,
 “ Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my
 “ vines;
 “ Or tames the genius of the stubborn plain,
 “ Almost as quickly as he conquer’d *Spain*.”

See the next note, p. 392. N.

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and as great a personal estate, as fir *Robert Sutton*.

If the Translator of *Homer* find fault with this unheroic disposition (or, what I more fear), if the *Drapier* of Ireland accuse the *Englishman* of want of spirit; I silence you both with one line out of your own *Horace*.
Quid te exempla juvat spinis e pluribus una?
 For I take the whole to be so corrupted, that a cure in any part would but little avail.

Your, &c.

LETTER XV.

Dr. SWIFT to the Earl of PETER-
BOROW.

MY LORD,

I NEVER knew or heard of any person so volatile and so fixt as your lordship: you, while your imagination is carrying you through every corner of the world, where you have or have not been, can at the same time remember to do offices of favour and kindness to the meanest of your friends; and, in all the scenes you passed, have not been able to attain that one quality peculiar to a great man, of forgetting every thing but injuries. Of this I am a living witness against you; for, being the most insignificant of all your old humble servants,
 you

you were so cruel as never to give me time to ask a favour; but prevented me in doing whatever you thought I desired, or could be for my credit or advantage.

I have often admired at the capriciousness of Fortune in regard to your lordship^b. She hath forced Courts to act against their oldest and most constant maxims; to make you a General because you had courage and conduct, an Ambassador because you had wisdom and knowledge in the interests of *Europe*, and an Admiral on account of your skill in maritime affairs: whereas, according to the usual method of Court proceedings, I should have been at the head of the Army, and you of the Church, or rather a Curate under the Dean of *St. Patrick's*.

The archbishop of *Dublin* laments that he did not see your lordship till he was just upon the point of leaving *The Bath*: I pray God

^b *Charles Mordaunt*, lord viscount *Avalon*, and earl of *Monmouth*, son of *John* lord viscount *Avalon*, succeeding his uncle *Henry* in the earldom of *Peterborough* in 1697, was first lord of the treasury under king *William III*. He was general and commander in chief of the forces sent to *Spain*; and, in 1705, took *Barcelona* with a small force; and in the winter following, with only 280 horse and 900 foot, enterprized and accomplished the conquest of *Valentia*; and afterwards, with less than 10,000 men, drove the *French* army, consisting of above 25 000 men, out of *Spain*. He was also ambassador to the king of *Sicily*, and general of all the marine officers in *Great Britain*. N.

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you may have found success in that journey; else I shall continue to think there is a fatality in all your lordship's undertakings, which only terminate in your own honour, and the good of the publick, without the least advantage to your health or fortune.

I remember lord *Oxford's* ministry used to tell me, "That, not knowing where to write *to* you, they were forced to write *at* you." It is so with me; for you are in one thing an Evangelical man, that *you know not where to lay your head*; and I think you have no house. Pray, my lord, write to me, that I may have the pleasure, in this scoundrel country, of going about, and shewing my depending parsons a letter from the earl of *Peterborow*.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVI.

To the Right Honourable

Sir JOHN STANLEY, Bart.

SIR,

I HAVE had for several months a strong application made me, by a person for whose virtue, honour, and good sense, I have a great esteem, to write to you in behalf of one of your tenants here, whose case I send you inclosed; and, if he relates it with truth and candour, I expect you will comply with his request,

request, because I have known you long, and have always highly esteemed and loved you, as you cannot deny: I know you will think it hard for me, or any one, to interfere in a business of property. But I very well understand the practice of *Irish* tenants to *English* landlords, and of those landlords to their tenants. Yet, if what Mr. *Wilding* desires is rightly represented, "That he hath been a great improver, his offers reasonable, his gains by no means exorbitant, and his payments regular;" you neither must nor shall act as an *Irish* racking squire. I have inquired about this tenant, and hear a good account of his honesty; and that worthy friend who recommends him to me durst not deceive me: so I fully reckon that you will obey my commands, or shew me strong reasons to the contrary; in which case I will break with that friend, and drive your tenant out of doors whenever he presumes to open his lips again to me upon any occasion.

I have one advantage by this letter, that it gives me a fair occasion of inquiring after your health, and where you live, and how you employ your leisure, and what share I keep in your good-will^c. As to myself, years and infirmities have sunk my spirits to nothing. My *English* friends are all either dead or in exile, or, by a prudent oblivion, have utterly dropped me; *having loved this present world*.

^c See vol. XXII. p. 29. N.

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And as to this country, I am only a favourite
 of my old friends the rabble; and I return
 their love, because I know none else who de-
 serve it. May you live long happy and be-
 loved, as you have ever been by the best and
 wisest of mankind! And if ever you happen
 to think of me, remember that I have always
 been, and shall ever continue, with the truest
 respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and

obliged servant,

J. SWIFT.

Dublin, Oct. 30, 1736.

I know not the present state of your family;
 but, if there be still near you the ladies I
 had the honour to know, I desire to present
 them with my most humble service.

I am now at the age of blundering in letters,
 syllables, words, and half sentences, as you
 see, and must pardon.

LET-

L E T T E R X V I I ^d.

Mr. POPE to the Earl of ORRERY.

M Y L O R D,

July 12, 1737.

THE pleasure you gave me, in acquainting me of the Dean's better health, is one so truly great, as might content even your own humanity; and whatever my sincere opinion and respect of your lordship prompts me to wish from your hands for myself, your love for him makes me happy. Would to God my weight, added to yours, could turn his inclinations to this side, that I might live to enjoy him here through your means, and flatter myself it was partly through my own! But this, I fear, will never be the case; and I think it more probable, his attraction will draw me on the other side, which, I protest,

^d Letters XVII, XVIII, and XXI. were first printed in Lord Orrery's Remarks. The best excuse for their insertion is already suggested by his lordship; "a real desire of convincing the world, that the affections of *Swift* and *Pope* subsisted as entire and uninterrupted as their friends could wish, or their enemies regret." In one of *Swift's* latest Letters to lord Orrery, not long before he was lost to all human comforts, he says, "when you see my dear friend *Pope*, tell him I will answer his letter soon; I love him above all the rest of mankind." See *Remarks*, p. 147. N.

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nothing less than a probability of dying at sea, considering the weak frame of my breast, would have hindered me from, two years past. In short, whenever I think of him, it is with the vexation of all impotent passions, that carry us out of ourselves only to spoil our quiet, and make us return to a resignation, which is the most melancholy of all virtues.

LETTER XVIII.

Mr. POPE to Lord ORRERY.

April 2, 1738.

I WRITE by the same post that I received your very obliging letter. The consideration you shew towards me, in the just apprehension that any news of the Dean's condition might alarm me, is most kind and generous. The very last post I writ to him a long letter, little suspecting him in that dangerous circumstance^e. I was so far from fearing his health,

^e A Letter from the Dean to Mr. Pope (dated Aug. 8 and 24, 1738, and probably the last he ever received) begins thus: I have yours of *July 25*; "and first, I desire you would look upon me as a man worn with years, and sunk by public as well as personal vexations. I have entirely lost my memory, incapable of conversation by a cruel deafness, which has lasted almost a year, and I despair of any cure." See the whole of this very affecting Letter, and particularly the Notes on it, in the last volume of Mr. Pope's Works. N.

VOL. XVIII.

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that I was proposing schemes, and hoping possibilities, for our meeting once more in this world. I am weary of it; and shall have one reason more, and one of the strongest that nature can give me (even when she is shaking my weak frame to pieces) to be willing to leave this world, when our dear friend is on the edge of the other. Yet I hope, I would fain hope, he may yet hover a while on the brink of it, to preserve to this wretched age a relique and example of the last.

L E T T E R XIX.

To Mrs. HAMILTON.

MADAM,

SOME days ago, my lord *Orrery* had the assurance to shew me a letter of yours to him, where you did me the honour to say many things in my favour. I read the letter with great delight; but at the same time I reproached his lordship for his presumption, in pretending to take a lady from me, who had made so many advances, and confessed herself to be nobody's goddess but mine. However, he had the boldness to assure me, that he had your consent to take him for a husband. I therefore command you, never to accept him without my leave under my own hand and seal.

f Only daughter and heiress of *John Hamilton*, esq. of *Caledon*, in the county of *Tyrone*; grand-daughter of *Dr. Dopping*, bishop of *Meath*, and niece of *Dr. Dopping*, bishop of *Ossory*. N.

I

And.

And as I do not know any lady in this kingdom of so good sense, or so many accomplishments; I have at last, with a heavy heart, permitted him to make himself the happiest man in the world &; for I know no fault in him, except his treacherous dealing with me.

Pray God make you happy in yourselves and each other! And believe me to be, with the truest esteem and respect, Madam,

Your most obedient
and obliged servant,

J. S W I F T.

Deanry-house, Dublin, June 8, 1738.

I have neither mourning paper nor gilt, at this time.; and, if I had, I could not tell which I ought to chuse.

L E T.

g This noble lord was the only son and heir of *Charles* the fourth earl of *Orrery* (eminently distinguished by his controversy with *Dr. Bentley*, and by his invention of that noble mathematical machine which bears his name) and was born *Jan. 2, 1706-7. May 9, 1728* (being then lord *Boyle*), he married lady *Henrietta Hamilton*, youngest daughter of *George* earl of *Orkney*. *Aug. 28, 1731*, on his father's decease, he became *John* earl of *Orrery*. His countess died *Aug. 22, 1732*. After being a widower near six years, his lordship married the amiable lady to whom this letter is addressed. A letter from lord *Orrery* to the Dean on this occasion, dated *June 29, 1738*, the day before his nuptials, is printed in vol. XXIV. Lett. CLXIII. This lady died *Nov. 24, 1758*; and his lordship *Nov. 16, 1762*. His character and a sketch of his life, by Mr. *Dun-*

L E T T E R XX.

To Mr. FAULKNER,

SIR,

I desire you will print the following paper, in what manner you think most proper. You see my design in it: I believe no man had ever more difficulty, or less encouragement, to bestow his whole fortune for a charitable use.

I am your humble servant,

Thursday, July 13, 1738.

J. SWIFT.

IT is known enough, that the abovenamed Doctor hath, by his last will and testament, bequeathed his whole fortune (excepting some legacies) to build and endow an hospital, in or near this city, for the support of lunaticks, ideots, and those they call incurables. But the difficulty he lies under is, that his whole fortune consists in mortgages on lands, and other the like securities; for, as to purchasing a real estate in lands, for want of active friends, he finds it impossible; so that, much against his will, if he should call in all his money lent, he knows not where to find a

combe, is prefixed to his lordship's *Letters from Italy*.

The Dean, in his will, bequeathed to lord Orrery,

“The enameled silver plates to distinguish bottles

“of wine by, given to me by his excellent lady,

“and the half-length picture of the late countess of

“Orkney in the drawing-room.” N.

convenient

inconvenient estate, in a tolerable part of the kingdom, which can be bought; and, in the mean time, his whole fortune must lie dead in the hands of bankers. The great misfortune is, that there seems not so much public virtue left among us, as to have any regard for a charitable design; because none but the aforesaid unfortunate objects of charity will be the better for it. However, the said Doctor, by calling in the several sums he hath lent, can be able, with some difficulty, to purchase three hundred pounds *per annum* in lands, for the endowment of the said hospital, if those lands could be now purchased; otherwise he must leave it, as he hath done in his will, to the care of his executors, who are very honest, wise, and considerable gentlemen, his friends; and yet he hath known some of very fair and deserved credit, prove very negligent trustees. The Doctor is now able to lend two thousand pounds, at five *per cent.* upon good security; of which the principal, after his decease, is to be disposed of, by his executors, in buying lands for the further endowment of the said hospital.

L E T T E R XXI.

Mr. POPE to Lord ORRERY.

Twitnam, Nov. 7.

WHEN you get to *Dublin* (whither I direct this, supposing you will see our dear friend as soon as possible) pray put the Dean in mind of me, and tell him I hope he received my last. Tell him how dearly I love, and how greatly I honour him: how greatly I reflect on every testimony of his friendship; how much I resolve to give the best I can of my esteem for him to posterity^h; and assure him, the world has nothing in it I admire so much; nothing, the loss of which I should regret so much, as his genius and his virtues,

^h In the course of Mr. Pope's writings, the Dean is frequently mentioned, and always in the most affectionate manner. One line, however, in the *Imitations of Horace*, Book I. Ep. vi. may be interpreted either as a compliment or a delicate reproof, or both:

“And *Swift* cry wisely, *Vive la Bagatelle!*”

Mr. Pope, his learned Commentator has observed, “could not bear to see a friend he so much valued, “live in the miserable abuse of one of Nature’s “best gifts, unadmonished of his folly.” See the Note on the above passage; and *The Dunciad*, ver. 17—26. N.

L E T,

LETTER XXII.

To the Rev. Mr. SHERIDAN.

Terse I ow I ane you are wry.

Am I say vain a Rabble is,

GAUDY o tea rue ry dy you sale you tye
in fervice he: Said link way mere Afs,
eat red Eye, add nose fight O. Quipp ye
knife all or tame Pufs East. Tea-Mary Tuck
Sir; Tea may rent Family are ease. Anne
lewd is cart is? Veal some no in dull jest I?
Anne Io Cuz ty by place eat? Meer Rum
spare O Freak went her Bib is: Lack Tea
compleat: Ayd is, ride ease, Lock were is,
do neck fat I gat at ease, A wry Debt nay
Rage in a, eat may right us tye by? Do my
Tea here I Eggs peckt have I; said may day
say pist I. Ufquebach come aen Afs: Force
an I buy afs her o bufs East; Codd mark a
Toryes nice Eye afs I dumb mine I may hay
bent. Said post hose Dairy lick toes and nose
vain I. You buy inn do mow Day can at us
bone um Salt 'em by beam us, sign on Mealy
o'r'em fall or no. Satyr nigh, dye ease nose
ty feast us east. May come air is; Sigh mull
fake ray to Carmen a Pan game us. Ride
end 'um, buy bend 'um e'er it come so dayly
bufs; nigh least carry us invite a.

Sick Dice it Whore ah see us ;

Spare take um Sick way pot you it wag
and Team

Fall e'er he tast a.

Et a lye by :

Back 'um in Ray mote is Carrmen are
you Pye-bufs.

Said ; For tune a lay to save an eggo o show.

Sate I sope I nor fight ha' shown 'um : add
fine 'em proper and 'um East. Valiant a Mice
I vestry, eat you in Shoe pair vally Afs.

Ah my Cuz vest are,

Day can us i.

LETTER XXIII.

TO SAMUEL BINDON, Esq.

MOLLIS abuti, Has an acuti.
No lasso finis, Molli divinis.
Omi de armis tres, Imi na dis tres.
Cantu disco ver Meas alo ver ?

i See another *Anglo-Latin* letter to Dr. *Sheridan*, in vol. XVIII. p. 162. By way of clue to them, we subjoin the last sentence of the above in proper *Latin*, leaving it to the Reader's diligence to carry his researches farther in this occult science : " Satis
" opinor citationum : ad finem properandum est.
" Valeant amici vestri, et tu insuper valeas. Amicus
" vester, Decanus." It may be needless to add, that the next letter (to Mr. *Bindon*) reverses the case, and is what the Dean himself calls *Anglico-Latinus*, " Molly's a beauty, Has an acute eye," &c. N.

POEMS

P O E M S

O N

SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

T O S T E L L A.

On her BIRTH-DAY, 1721-2.

WHILE, STELLA, to your lasting praise
 The Muse her annual tribute pays,
 While I assign myself a task
 Which you expect, but scorn to ask ;
 If I perform this task with pain,
 Let me of partial Fate complain ;
 You every year the debt enlarge,
 I grow less equal to the charge :
 In you, each virtue brighter shines,
 But my poetic vein declines ;
 My harp will soon in vain be strung,
 And all your virtues left unsung :

A a 5

For

406 HELTER SKELTER,

For none among the upstart race
Of Poets dare assume my place;
Your worth will be to them unknown,
They must have STELLA's of their own;
And thus, my stock of wit decay'd;
I dying leave the debt unpaid,
Unless ———, as my heir,
Will answer for the whole arrear.

HELTER SKELTER;

OR,

The HUE and CRY after the ATTORNIES,
upon their riding the CIRCUIT.

NOW the active young Attornies
Briskly travel on their journies,
Looking big as any giants,
On the horses of their clients,
Like so many little *Mars's*
With their tilters at their a—s,
Brazen-hilted, lately burnish'd,
And with harness buckles furnish'd,
And with whips and spurs so neat,
And with jockey coats compleat,
And with boots so very greasy,
And with saddles eke so easy,
And with bridles fine and gay,
Bridles borrow'd for a day,
Bridles destin'd far to roam,
Ah! never, never to come home,

And

And with hats so very big, Sir,
 And with powder'd caps and wigs, Sir,
 And with ruffles to be shewn,
 Cambrick ruffles not their own,
 And with Holland shirts so white,
 Shirts becoming to the sight,
 Shirts be-wrought with different letters,
 As belonging to their betters,
 With their pretty tinsel'd boxes,
 Gotten from their dainty doxies,
 And with rings so very trim,
 Lately taken out of Lim——
 And with very little pence,
 And as very little sense,
 With some law, but little justice,
 Having stolen from my hostess,
 From the barber and the cutler,
 Like the soldier from the futler;
 From the vintner and the taylor,
 Like the felon from the jaylor;
 Into this and t'other county,
 Living on the public bounty;
 Thorough town and thorough village,
 All to plunder, all to pillage;
 Thorough mountains, thorough vallies,
 Thorough stinking lanes and alleys,
 Some to ——kiss with farmers spouses,
 And make merry in their houses;
 Some to ——tumble country wenches
 On their rushy beds and benches,
 And, if they begin a fray,
 Draw their swords, and ——run away
 All to murder equity,
 And to take a double fee;

T ll the people all are quiet,
 And forget to broil and riot,
 Low in pocket, cow'd in courage,
 Safely glad to sup their porridge,
 And Vacation's over — then,
 Hey, for *London* town again.

A

COPY of VERSES

Upon Two celebrated Modern Poets.

BEHOLD, these monarch-oaks that rise,
 With lofty branches to the skies,
 Have large proportion'd roots that grow
 With equal longitude below :
 Two bards that now in fashion reign,
 Most aptly this device explain :
 If this to clouds and stars will venture,
 That creeps as far to reach the centre,
 Or, more to shew the thing I mean,
 Have you not o'er a sawpit seen,
 A skill'd mechanick, that has stood
 High on a length of prostrate wood,
 Who hired a subterraneous friend,
 To take his iron by the end ;
 But which excell'd was never found,
 The man above, or under ground.

The Moral is so plain to hit,
 That, had I been the God of Wit,
 Then, in a sawpit and wet weather,
 Should *Young* and *Philips* drudge together.

THE

THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT^k.

WITH a whirl of thought oppress'd,
 I sunk from reverie to rest.
 An horrid vision seiz'd my head,
 I saw the graves give up their dead!
 Jove, arm'd with terrors, bursts the skies,
 And thunder roars, and lightning flies!
Amaz'd,

^k This Poem now appears for the first time in any collection of the Dean's works. That it is the genuine production of his masterly pen, lord *Chesterfield* thus bears testimony: "I cannot but acknowledge the obligation we have to you, Sir, for the light which you have thrown upon the follies and outrages of the different sects. The weapons you employ against those madmen, or rather those impostors, are the only suitable ones; to make use of any others, would be imitating them: they must be attacked by ridicule, and punished with contempt. *A propos* of those fanatics; I send you here inclosed, a piece upon that subject, written by the late Dean *Swift*: I believe you will not dislike it. You will easily guess why it never was printed: it is authentic; and I have the original in his own hand-writing. His *Jupiter*, at the day of judgement, treats them as you do, and as they deserve to be treated." Letter (CCLIV.) to M. *Voltaire*, Aug. 27, 1752.—Two Letters from M. *Voltaire* to Dr. *Swift* are printed in vol. XX. of this collection, p. 294; in one of which he tells the Dean, "That he owed the love he bore

410 THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

Amaz'd, confus'd, its fate unknown,
The world stands trembling at his throne !
While each pale sinner hung his head,
Jove, nodding, shook the heavens, and said :
" Offending race of human-kind,
" By nature, reason, learning, blind ;
" You who, thro' frailty, stepp'd aside ;
" And you who never fell, *thro' pride* ;
" You who, in different sects, were sham'd,
" And come to see each other damn'd ;
" (So some folk told you, but they knew
" No more of *Jove's* designs than you)

" to the *English* language to his writings ;" and in both solicits subscriptions to his *Henriade*. A third letter is in vol. XXI. p. 278. expressed in the highest terms of esteem. In a recent publication of M. *Voltaire*, he has thus described the Dean : "*Swift* was much less learned than *Rabelais* ; but his wit is more pointed, more delicate : he is the *Rabelais* of high life."—Again, "*The Tale of a Tub* is wretchedly translated into *French* ; it was not indeed possible to do justice to the humour with which it is seasoned ; which turns often on incidents unknown in *France*, and often on a certain play of words peculiar to the *English* language ; for example, the word *Bull* signifies in *English* both the *Pope's Bull* and the animal of that name. Such words are a source of ambiguity and pleasantry, entirely lost upon a *French* reader." Letters to the Prince of *** , 1768, p. 44.—See lord *Chesterfield's* opinion of *Voltaire's* writings, and particularly of *The Henriade*, which his lordship very highly commends, and says, " He never read any Epic poem with near so much pleasure ;" Letters CCLIV. CCLIX. N.

" The

“ — The world’s mad business now is o’er,
 “ And I resent these pranks no more.
 “ — I to such blockheads set my wit?
 “ I damn such fools! — Go, go, you’re *bit*.”

BOUTS RHIMES.

On Signora DOMITILLA.

OUR school-master may rave i’ th’ fit
 Of classic beauty *hæc & illa*,
 Not all his birch inspires such wit
 As th’ ogling beams of *Domitilla*.

Let nobles toast, in bright *champain*,
 Nymphs higher born than *Domitilla*;
 I’ll drink her health, again, again,
 In *Berkeley’s* tar, or fars-parilla.

At *Goodman’s-Fields* I’ve much admir’d
 The postures strange of *Monsieur Brilla*;
 But what are they to the soft step,
 The gliding air, of *Domitilla*?

Virgil has eterniz’d in song
 The flying footsteps of *Camilla*;
 Sure, as a prophet, he was wrong;
 He might have dream’d of *Domitilla*.

Great *Theodose* condemn’d a town
 For thinking ill of his *Placilla*,
 And duce take *London*, if some knight
 O’ th’ city wed not *Domitilla*.

Wheeler.

412 ON SIGNORA DOMITILLA.

Wheeler, Sir *George*, in travels wise,
Gives us a medal of *Plantilla* ;
But O ! the empress has not eyes,
Nor lips, nor breast, like *Domitilla*.

Not all the wealth of plunder'd *Italy*,
Pil'd on the mules of king *At-tila*,
Is worth one glove (I'll not tell a bit a lie)
Or garter, snatch'd from *Domitilla*.

Five years a nymph at certain hamlet,
Y-cleped *Harrovv of the Hill*, a-
—'bus'd much my heart, and was a damn'd let
To verse — but now for *Domitilla*.

Dan *Pope* consigns *Belinda's* watch
To the fair Sylphid *Momentilla*,
And thus I offer up my catch
To th' snow-white hands of *Domitilla*.

On the Countess of DONEGAL.

UNERRING heaven, with bounteous hand,
Has form'd a model for your land,
Whom *Jove* endow'd with every grace :
The glory of the *Granard* race ;
Now destin'd by the powers divine,
The blessing of another line.
Then, would you paint a matchless dame,
Whom you'd consign to endless fame ?
Invoke not *Cytherea's* aid,
Nor borrow from the blue-ey'd maid,
Nor need you on the Graces call ;—
Take qualities from *Donegal*.

ON

PADDY's Character of the INTELLIGENCER.

AS a thorn-bush, or oaken-bough,
 Stuck in an *Irish* cabbin's brow,
 Above the door, at country-fair,
 Betokens *Entertainment there*;
 So *bays* on poets brows have been
 Set, for a sign of wit within.
 And as ill neighbours in the night
 Pull down an alehouse bush for spite;
 The laurel so, by poets worn,
 Is by the teeth of Envy torn;
 Envy, a canker-worm which *tears*
 Those sacred leaves that *lightning spares*.
 And now t' exemplify this moral,
Tom having earn'd a twig of laurel
 (Which, measur'd on his head, was found
 Not long enough to reach half round,
 But, like a girl's cockade, was ty'd
 A trophy, on his temple-side);
Paddy repin'd to see him wear
 This badge of honour in his hair,
 And thinking this cockade of wit
 Would his own temples better fit,
 Forming his Muse by ¹ *Medley's* model,
 Lets drive at *Tom's* devoted noddle,

¹ A dean then in *Ireland*, and would-be-poet,
 who hoped to arrive at fame, by attacking that of
 other writers.

414 ON PADDY'S CHARACTER, &c.

Pelts him by turns with verse and prose,
 Humms like a hornet at his nose,
 At length, presumes to vent his satire on
 The *Dean*, *Tom's* honour'd friend and patron.
 The *eagle* in the tale, ye know,
 Teaz'd by a buzzing wasp below,
 Took wing to *Jove*, and hop'd to rest
 Securely in the thunderer's breast,
 In vain; even there, to spoil his nod,
 The *spiteful insect* stung the god.

A N E P I G R A M.

FRIEND • *Rundel* fell with grievous bump,
 Upon his reverential rump:
 Poor rump, thou hadst been better sped,
 Had thou been join'd to *Boulter's* head:
 A head so weighty and profound,
 Would needs have kept thee from the ground.

A young LADY'S COMPLAINT,

F O R

The Stay of the DEAN in ENGLAND.

BLOW, ye *Zephyrs*, gentle gales;
 Gently fill the swelling sails.
Neptune, with thy trident long,
 Trident three-fork'd, trident strong;

• Bishop of *Derry*.

And

And ye *Nereids* fair and gay,
 Fairer than the rose in *May*,
Nereids living in deep caves,
 Gently wash'd with gentle waves;
Nereids, *Neptune*, lull asleep
 Ruffling storms, and ruffled deep;
 All-around, in pompous state,
 On this richer *Argo* wait:

Argo, bring my *Golden-fleece*,
Argo, bring him to his *Greece*.

Will *Cadenus* longer stay?

Come, *Cadenus*, come away;
 Come with all the haste of love,
 Come unto thy turtle-dove.

The ripen'd cherry on the tree
 Hangs, and only hangs for thee,
 Luscious peaches, mellow pears,
Ceres with her yellow ears,
 And the grape, both red and white,
 Grape inspiring just delight;
 All are ripe and courting sue,
 To be pluck'd and prefs'd by you.
 Pinks have lost their blooming red,
 Mourning hang their drooping head,
 Every flower languid seems,
 Wants the colour of thy beams,
 Beams of wond'rous force and power,
 Beams reviving every flower.

Come, *Cadenus*, bless once more,
 Bless again thy native shore,
 Bless again this drooping isle,
 Make its weeping beauties smile,
 Beauties that thine absence mourn,
 Beauties wishing thy return:

Come,

Come, *Cadenus*, come with haste,
 Come before the winter's blast;
 Swifter than the lightning fly,
 Or I, like *Vanessa*, die.

A L E T T E R

T O

T H E D E A N,

When in ENGLAND, in MDCCXXVI.

YOU will excuse me, I suppose,
 For sending rhyme instead of prose,
 Because hot weather makes me lazy;
 To write in metre is more easy.

While you are trudging *London* town,
 I'm stroling *Dublin* up and down;
 While you converse with lords and dukes,
 I have their betters here, my books:
 Fix'd in an elbow-chair at ease,
 I chuse companions as I please.
 I'd rather have one single shelf
 Than all my friends, except yourself;
 For, after all that can be said,
 Our best acquaintance are the dead.
 While you're in raptures with ^m*Faustina*,
 I'm charm'd at home, with our *Sheelina*.

¶ Signora *Faustina*, a famous *Italian* singer.

While

While you are starving there in state,
 I'm cramming here with butchers meat :
 You say, when with those lords you dine,
 They treat you with the best of wine,
Burgundy, Cyprus, and Tokay ;
 Why so can we, as well as they.
 No reason then, my dear good Dean,
 But you should travel home again.
 What tho' you mayn't in *Ireland* hope
 To find such folk as *Gay* and *Pope ;*
 If you with rhymers here would share
 But half the wit that you can spare,
 I'd lay twelve eggs, that in twelve days,
 You'd make a dozen *Popes* and *Gays*.

Our weather's good, our sky is clear,
 We've every joy, if you were here ;
 So lofty and so bright a sky
 Was never seen by *Ireland's* eye !
 I think it fit to let you know,
 This week I shall to *Quilca* go ;
 To see *Mc. Fayden's* horney brothers,
 First suck, and after bull their mothers.
 To see, alas ! my wither'd trees !
 To see what all the country sees !
 My stunted quicks, my famish'd beeves,
 My servants such a pack of thieves ;
 My shatter'd firs, my blasted oaks,
 My house in common to all folks ;
 No cabbage for a single snail,
 My turnips, carrots, parsnips, fail ;
 My no green pease, my few green sprouts ;
 My mother always in the pouts ;

My

My horses rid, or gone astray;
 My fish all stol'n, or run away;
 My mutton lean, my pullets old,
 My poultry starv'd, the corn all fold.

A man, come now from *Quilca*, says,
They've ⁿ stolen the locks from all your keys:
 But, what must fret and vex me more,
 He says, *They* stole the keys before.
They've stol'n the knives from all the forks,
 And half the cows from half the sturks;
 Nay more, the fellow swears and vows,
They've stol'n the sturks from half the **cows**:
 With many more accounts of woe.
 Yet, tho' the devil be there, I'll go:
 Twixt you and me, the reason's clear,
 Because I've more vexation here.

P A L I N O D I A.

HOR. Lib. I. Od. xvi.

GREAT Sir, than *Phæbus* more divine,
 Whose verses far his rays out-shine;
 Look down upon your quondam foe,
 Oh! let me never write again,
 If e'er I disoblige you, Dean,
 Should you compassion shew.

ⁿ *They*, is the grand thief of the county of *Cavan*; for whatever is stolen, if you inquire of a servant about it, the answer is, "*They* have stolen it."

Take

Take those Iambicks which I wrote,
When anger made me piping hot,
And give them to your cook,
To finge your fowl, or save your paste,
The next time when you have a feast;
They'll save you many a book.

To burn them you are not content;
I give you then my free consent,
To sink them in the harbour:
If not, they'll serve to set off blocks,
To roll on pipes, and twist in locks;
So give them to your barber.

Or, when you next your physick take,
I must intreat you then to make
A proper application;
'Tis what I've done myself before,
With *Dan's* fine thoughts, and many more
Who gave me provocation.

What cannot mighty anger do?
It makes the weak the strong pursue,
A goose attack a swan;
It makes a woman, tooth and nail,
Her husband's hands and face assail,
While he's no longer man.

Tho' some we find are more discreet,
Before the world are wond'rous sweet,
And let their husbands hector:
But, when the world's asleep, they wake,
That is the time they chuse to speak;
Witness the curtain-lecture.

Such

Such was the case with you, I find :
 All day you would conceal your mind ;
 But when *St. Patrick's* chymes
 Awak'd your Muse (my midnight curse,
 When I engag'd for better for worse),
 You scolded with your rhymes.

Have done, have done, I quit the field,
 To you, as to my wife, I yield ;
 As she must wear the breeches,
 So shall you wear the laurel crown,
 Win it, and wear it, 'tis your own ;
 The poet's only riches.

A P O E M

ON

The Dean of *St. PATRICK'S BIRTH-DAY.*

Being on *Nov. 30, St. ANDREW'S-DAY.*

BETWEEN the hours of twelve and one,
 When half the world to rest were gone,
 Intranc'd in softest sleep I lay,
 Forgetful of an anxious day ;
 From every care and labour free,
 My soul as calm as it could be.

The *Queen of dreams*, well pleas'd to find
 An undisturb'd and vacant mind,
 With magic pencil trac'd my brain,
 And there she drew *St. Patrick's Dean* ;
 I straight beheld on either hand
 Two saints, like *guardian angels*, stand,

And

And either claim'd him for their son,
And thus the high dispute begun :

St. *Andrew* first, with reason strong,
Maintain'd to him he did belong.

" SWIFT is my own, by right divine,
" All born upon this day are mine."

St. *Patrick* said, " I own this true,
" So far he does belong to you :

" But in my church he's born again,

" My son adpoted, and *my Dean*.

" When first the *Christian-truth* I spread,

" The poor within this isle I fed,

" And darkest errors banish'd hence,

" Made knowledge in their place commence ;

" Nay more, at my divine command,

" All *noxious creatures* fled the land.

" I made both Peace and Plenty smile.

" *Hibernia* was my favourite isle ;

" Now *his* — for he succeeds to me,

" Two *angels* cannot more agree.

" His joy is, to relieve the poor ;

" Behold them weekly at his door !

" His knowledge too, in brightest *rays*,

" He like the sun to all conveys,

" Shews *wisdom* in a single page,

" And in one hour instructs an age.

" When ruin lately stood around

" Th' inclosures of my *sacred ground*,

" He gloriously did interpose,

" And sav'd it from invading foes ;

" For this I claim immortal SWIFT,

" As my own son, and heaven's best gift."

The *Caledonian* saint enrag'd,

Now closer in dispute engag'd,

Essays to prove by transmigration,
 The *Dean* is of the *Scottish* nation;
 And, to confirm the truth, he chose
 The loyal soul of great MONTROSE;
 "MONTROSE and HE are both the same,
 "They only differ in the name:
 "Both heroes in a righteous cause,
 "Assert their liberties and laws;
 "He's now the same, MONTROSE was then,
 "But that the *sword* is turn'd a *pen*,
 "A *pen* of so great power, each word
 "Defends beyond the hero's *sword*."

Now words grew high — we can't suppose
 Immortals ever come to blows,
 But, lest unruly passion shou'd
 Degrade them into flesh and blood,
 An *angel* quick from heaven descends,
 And he at once the contest ends:

"Ye reverend pair, from discord cease,
 "Ye both mistake the present case;
 "One *kingdom* cannot have pretence
 "To so much virtue! so much sense;
 "Search *heaven's* record; and there you'll find,
 "That HE was born for all mankind."

CLUB-VERSES.

BE mi sol ab ride lis as fit formis as fora
 mare,

Amat i, a ruas apto prata se ver.

Do es ure dean ab usu

Heris abrato fine Patri gesto.

At nite. Cani prognostick

Arrogavit me.

THALIA.

THALIA to THE CRITICKS.

“ **R**IDDLES! such trumpery we despise!
 (The captious Critick gravely cries)
 “ Such crude pursuits, unfit for men,
 “ Disgrace the *DRAPIER*’s nervous ¹ *Pen*!”
 “ Hold!” (said the Muse of merry mien)
 “ Nor blame the laughter-loving Dean.
 “ My darling *SWIFT*, with matchless art,
 “ Peculiar pleasures can impart:
 “ Warm from his brain, the happy thought,
 “ To charm admiring worlds, is brought;
 “ While, sketch’d with more than human skill,
 “ Pigmies or Giants rise at will;
 “ The Whirlwind rends, the ¹¹ *Cannon* roars,
 “ Or, black as ¹⁵ *Ink*, the Tempest pours;
 “ The fleecy ¹³ *Snow* dissolves in tears;
 “ Th’ abandon’d wretch the ¹² *Gallows* fears,
 “ ’Tis his the ¹⁰ *Moon*’s bright orb to trace;
 “ Describe ¹⁸ *each Sense* with matchless grace;
 “ Make ⁴ *Cloacina*’s ⁷ *Temple* please;
 “ Paint ⁶ *Corkscrews* with poetic ease;
 “ Mysterious themes unfold in rhyme,
 “ And change the meanest to sublime:
 “ To sing the ¹⁷ *Vowels* magic power
 “ In strains which ¹⁶ *Time* shall ne’er devour;
 “ And, whilst the ² *golden* numbers swell,
 “ Instruction blends with *Bagatelle*!”

P These Verses seem to have been originally intended as a Vindication of the *DEAN*, and at the same time as an Answer to a considerable number of his Riddles: the numbers referring respectively to those which are printed in vol. VII. of this collection. N.

Dr. HELSHAM to Dr. SWIFT^a.

THE Doctor's first rhyme would make any
few sick :
 I know it has made a fine lady in blue sick,
 For which she is gone in a coach to *Killbree*
 sick,
 Like a hen I once had, from a fox when she
 flew sick :
 Last *Monday* a lady at *St. Patrick's* did spew
 sick,
 And made all the rest of the folks in the pew
 sick ;
 The surgeon who bled her, his lancet out drew
 sick,
 And stopt the distemper, as being but new
 sick.
 The yacht, the last storm, had all her whole
 crew sick ;
 Had we two been there, it would have made
 me and you sick :
 A lady that long'd, is by eating of glew sick ;

^a Dr. *Helsam* first wrote twenty lines ; which Dr. *Swift* answered by sending thirty-three (printed in vol. XII. p. 233.), and challenging Dr. *Helsam* to exceed him by returning fourteen more (thirty-four in all) ; which Dr. *Helsam* accordingly here performs.—These are some of the puerilities for which the Dean has since been severely censured ; but the foibles of such a writer as Dr. *Swift* are amusing, even in the few instances where they are void of instruction. N.

Dis

Did you ever know one in a very good
Q sick?

I'm told that my wife is by winding a clue
sick;

The doctors have made her by rhyme and by
rue sick.

There's a gamester in town, for a throw
that he threw sick,

And yet the old trade of his dice he'll pursue
sick;

I've known an old miser for paying his due
sick;

At present I am grown by a pinch of my shoe
sick,

And what would you have me with verses to
do sick?

Send rhymes, and I'll send you some others in
lieu sick.

Of rhymes I've a plenty,

And therefore send twenty.

Answered the same day when sent, *Nov. 23.*

I desire you will carry both these to the
Doctor, together with his own, and let him
know we are not persons to be insulted.

" I was at *Howth* to-day, and staid abroad
" a visiting till just now.

" *Tuesday Evening, Nov. 23, 1731.*

" Can you match with me,

" Who send thirty-three?

" You must get fourteen more,

" To make up thirty-four :

" But

“ But, if me you can conquer,
 “ I’ll own you a strong cur^q. ”

This morning I’m growing by smelling of yew
 fick ;

My brother’s come over with gold from *Peru*
 fick ;

Last night I came home in a storm that then
 blew fick ;

This moment my dog at a cat I halloo fick ;

I hear, from good hands, that my poor cousin
Hugh’s fick ;

By quaffing a bottle, and pulling a screw fick :

And now there’s no more I can write (you’ll
 excuse) fick ;

You see that I scorn to mention word musick.

I’ll do my best,

To send the rest ;

Without a jest,

I’ll stand the test.

These lines that I send you, I hope you’ll
 peruse fick ;

I’ll make you with writing a little more news
 fick ;

Last night I came home with drinking of
 booze fick ;

My carpenter swears that he’ll hack and he’ll
 hew fick :

^q The lines “ thus marked ” were written by
 Dr. *Swift*, at the bottom of Dr. *Helsbam*’s twenty
 lines ; and the following fourteen were afterwards
 added on the same paper. N.

An

An officer's lady, I'm told, is tattoo-sick;
I'm afraid that the line thirty-four you will
view sick.

Lord! I could write a dozen more;
You see, I've mounted thirty-four.

*Verses by Dr. SWIFT, on his Curate's Com-
plaint of hard Duty.*

I March'd three miles through scorching
sand,
With zeal in heart, and notes in hand:
I rode four more to *Great St. Mary*,
Using four legs, when two were weary:
To three fair virgins I did tie men,
In the close bands of pleasing *Hymen*:
I dipp'd two babes in holy water,
And purify'd their mother after.
Within an hour and eke a half,
I preach'd three congregations deaf;
Where thundering out, with lungs long-
winded,
I chopp'd so fast, that few there minded.
My emblem, the laborious fun,
Saw all these mighty labours done,
Before one race of his was run:
All this perform'd by *Robert Hewit*,
What mortal else could e'er go through it!

A True

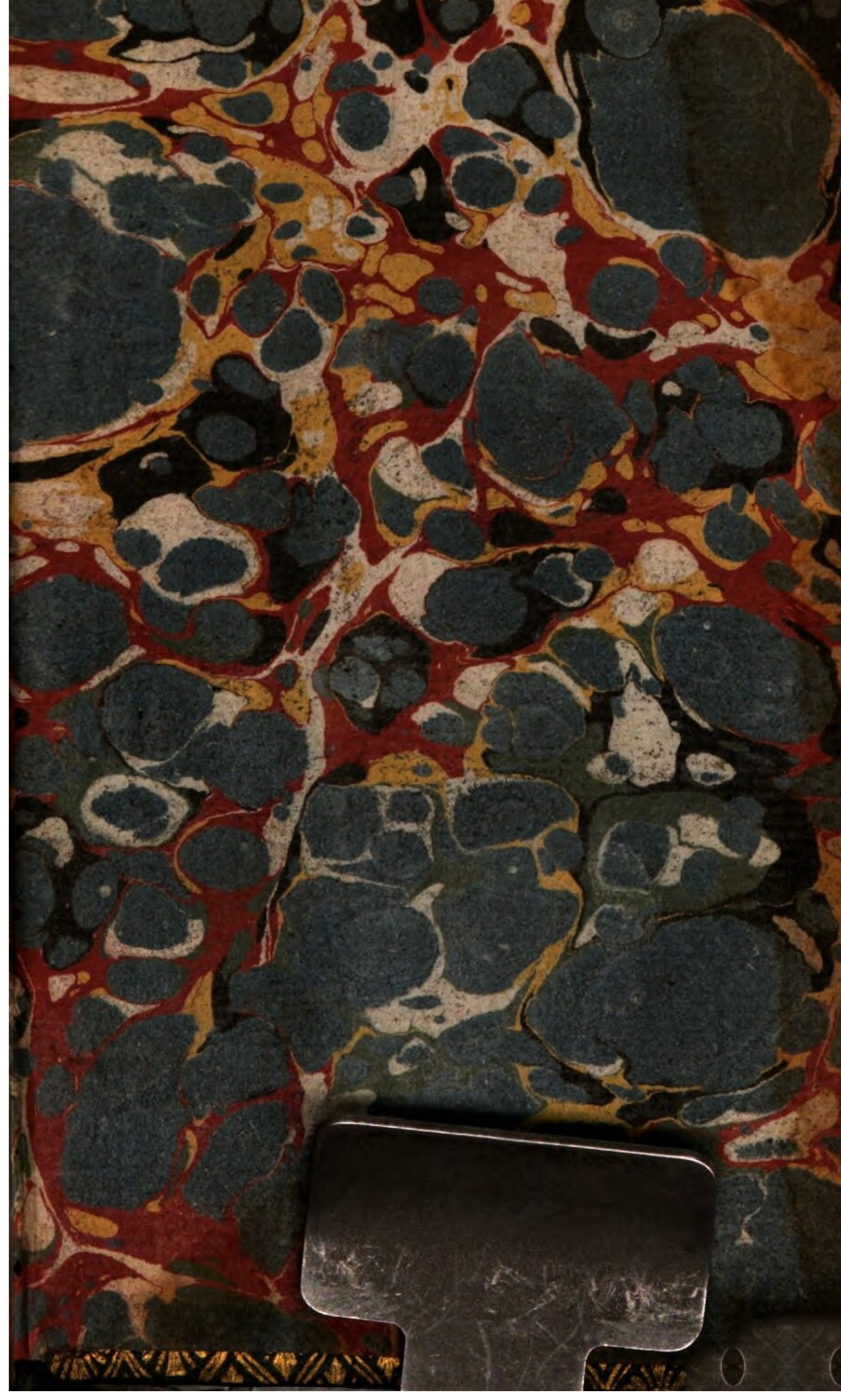
*A True and Faithful Inventory of the Goods
belonging to Dr. SWIFT, Vicar of Laracor,
upon lending his House to the Bishop of ———,
till his own was built.*

AN oaken, broken, elbow-chair;
A cawdle-cup, without an ear;
A batter'd, shatter'd ash bedstead;
A box of deal, without a lid;
A pair of tongs, but out of joint;
A back-sword poker, without point;
A pot that's crack'd acrofs, around,
With an old knotted garter bound;
An iron lock, without a key;
A wig, with hanging, quite grown grey;
A curtain worn to half a stripe;
A pair of bellows, without pipe;
A dish which might good meat afford once;
An *Ovid*, and an old *Concordance*;
A bottle-bottom, wooden platter.
One is for meal, and one for water:
There likewise is a copper skillet,
Which runs as fast out as you fill it;
A candlestick, snuff-dish, and save-all,
And thus his household-goods you have all
These, to your lordship, as a friend,
Till you have built, I freely lend:
They'll serve your lordship for a shift;
Why not, as well as doctor *Swift*?

END OF VOL. XVIII

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Swift, Jonathan, 1667-1745

The works of Jonathan Swift

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